

William Davison.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

Translated from the ^{1487. ff. 46.}

GREEK,

BY

SEVERAL HANDS.

In Five Volumes.

VOL. I.

To which is prefxt
The LIFE of PLUTARCH.

L O N D O N,

Printed by R. E. for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges-
Head in Chancery-Lane, near Fleet-street, 1693.



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TO HIS
GRACE
THE
DUKE
OF
Ormond, &c.

MR LORD,

LUcretius, endeavouring to prove from the principles of his Philosophy, that the World had a casual beginning from the concourse of *Atomēs*; and that Men, as well as the rest of Animals, were produc'd from the vital heat and moisture of their Mother Earth; from the same principles is bound to answer this objection, why Men are not daily form'd after the same manner, which he tells us is, because the kindly warmth, and procreative Faculty of the Ground is

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now worn out : The Sun is a disabled Lover, and the Earth is past her teeming time.

Though Religion has inform'd us better of our Origine, yet it appears plainly, that not only the Bodies, but the Souls of Men, have decreas'd from the vigour of the first Ages ; that we are not more short of the stature and strength of those gygantick Heroes, than we are of their understanding, and their wit. To let pass those happy Patriarchs, who were striplings at fourscore, and had afterwards seven or eight hundred years before them to beget Sons and Daughters; and to consider Man in reference only to his Mind, and that no higher than the Age of *Socrates* : How vast a difference is there betwixt the productions of those Souls, and these of ours ? How much better *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and the rest of the Philosophers understood Nature; *Thucydides*, and *Herodotus* adorn'd History; *Sophocles*, *Eurypides* and *Menander* advanc'd Poetry, than those Dwarfs of Wit and Learning who succeeded them in after times ? That Age was most Famous amongst the Greeks, which ended with the death of *Alexander*; amongst the Romans Learning seem'd again to revive and flourish in the Century which produc'd *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Salust*, *Livy*, *Lucretius* and *Virgil*: And after a short interval of years,

(wherein

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(wherein Nature seem'd to take a breathing time for a second birth,) there sprung up under the *Vespasians*, and those excellent Princes who succeeded them, a race of memorable Wits; such as were the two *Plinius*, *Tacitus*, and *Suetonius*; and as if *Greece* was emulous of the *Roman Learning*, under the same favourable Constellation, was born the famous Philosopher and Historian *Plutarch*. Then whom Antiquity has never produc'd a Man more generally knowing, or more vertuous; and no succeeding Age has equall'd him. His Lives, both in his own esteem, and that of others, accounted the Noblest of his Works, have been long since render'd into *English*: But as that Translation was only from the *French*, so it suffer'd this double disadvantage, first, that it was but a Copy of a Copy, and that too but lamely taken from the *Greek Original*: Secondly, that the *English Language* was then unpolish'd, and far from the perfection which it has since attain'd: So that the first Version is not only ungrammatical and ungraceful, but in many places almost unintelligible. For which Reasons, and lest so useful a piece of History, shou'd lie oppress'd under the rubbish of Antiquated Words, some ingenious and learned Gentlemen, have undertaken this Task: And what wou'd have been the labour of one Man's

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Life, will, by the several endeavours of many, be now accomplish'd in the compass of a year. How far they have succeeded in this laudable attempt, to me it belongs not to determine; who am too much a party to be a Judge: But I have the honour to be Commission'd from the Translators of this Volume, to inscribe their labours and my own, with all humility, to your Graces Name and Patronage. And never was any Man more ambitious of an employment, of which he was so little worthy. Fortune has at last gratify'd that earnest desire I have always had, to shew my devotion to your Grace; though I despair of paying you my acknowledgments. And of all other opportunities I have happen'd on the most favourable to my self; who, having never been able to produce any thing of my own, which cou'd be worthy of your view, am supply'd by the assistance of my Friends, and honour'd with the presentation of their labours. The Author they have Translated, has been long familiar to you: Who have been conversant in all sorts of History both Ancient and Modern; and have form'd the Idea of your most Noble Life from the Instructions and Examples contain'd in them; both in the management of publick affairs, and in the private Offices of Virtue; in the enjoyment of your better Fortune,

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Fortune, and sustaining of your worse; in habituating your self to an easie greatness; in repelling your Enemies, in succouring your Friends, and in all traverses of Fortune, in every colour of your Life, maintaining an inviolable fidelity to your Sovereign. 'Tis long since that I have learn'd to forget the art of praising; but here the heart dictates to the pen; and I appeal to your Enemies, (if so much generosity and good nature can have left you any) whether they are not conscious to themselves that I have not flatter'd.

'Tis an Age indeed, which is only fit for Satyr; and the sharpest I have shall never be wanting to launce its Villanies, and its ingratitude to the Government: There are few Men in it, who are capable of supporting the weight of a just and deserv'd commendation: But amongst those few there must always stand excepted the Illustrious Names of *Ormond* and of *Offory*: A Father and a Son, only worthy of each other. Never was one Soul more fully infus'd into another's Breast: Never was so strong an impression made of Virtue, as that of your Graces into him: But though the stamp was deep, the subject which receiv'd it was of too fine a composition to be durable. Were not priority of Time and Nature in the case, it might have been doubted which

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of you had been most excellent: But Heaven snatch'd away the Copy to make the Original more precious. I dare trust my self no farther on this Subject: for after years of mourning, my sorrow is yet so green upon me, that I am ready to tax Providence for the loss of that Heroick Son: Three Nations had a general concernment in his Death, but I had one so very particular, that all my hopes are almost dead with him; and I have lost so much that I am past the danger of a second Shipwreck. But he sleeps with an unenvy'd commendation: And has left your Grace the sad Legacy of all those Glories which he deriv'd from you. An accession which you wanted not, who were so rich before in your own Vertues, and that high reputation which is the product of them. A long descent of Noble Ancestors, was not necessary to have made you great: But Heaven threw it in as over-plus when you were born. What you have done and suffer'd for two Royal Masters has been enough to render you Illustrious; so that you may safely wave the Nobility of your Birth, and rely on your Actions for your Fame. You have Cancell'd the Debt which you ow'd to your Progenitors, and reflect more brightness on their Memory than you receiv'd from them. Your Native Country, which Providence gave

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gave you not leave to preserve under one King, it has given you opportunity under another to restore. You cou'd not save it from the Chastisement which was due to its Rebellion, but you rais'd it from ruin after its repentance: So that the Trophies of War were the Portion of the Conquerour, but the Triumphs of Peace were reserv'd for the vanquish'd. The misfortunes of *Ireland* were owing to it self, but its Happiness and Restoration to your Grace. The Rebellion against a Lawful Prince was punish'd by an Usurping Tyrant: But the fruits of his Victory were the rewards of a Loyal Subject. How much that Noble Kingdom has flourish'd under your Graces Government, both the Inhabitants and the Crown are sensible. The riches of *Ireland* are increas'd by it, and the Revenues of *England* are augmented. That which was a charge and burden of the Government is render'd an advantage and support: The Trade and Interest of both Countries are united in a mutual benefit; they conspire to make each other happy; the dependance of the one is an improvement of its Commerce, the preeminence of the other is not impair'd by the intercourse, and common necessities are supply'd by both. *Ireland* is no more a *Cyon*, to suck the nourishment from the Mother Tree; neither is it overtop'd,

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overtop'd, or hinder'd from growth by the superior branches; but the Roots of *England*, diving (if I may dare to say it,) underneath the Seas, rise at a just distance on the Neighbouring Shore; and there shoot up, and bear a product scarce inferiour to the Trunk from whence they sprung. I may raise the commendation higher, and yet not fear to offend the truth: *Ireland* is a better Penitent than *England*: The Crime of Rebellion was common to both Countries; but the repentance of one Island has been steady; that of the other, to its shame, has suffer'd a relapse: Which shews the Conversions of their Rebels to have been real, that of ours to have been but counterfeit. The Sons of Guilty Fathers there, have made amends for the disloyalty of their Families: But here the descendants of pardon'd Rebels have only waited their time to copy the wickedness of their Parents, and if possible to outdo it: They disdain to hold their Patrimonies by acts of Grace and of Indempnity: and by maintaining their old Treasonable Principles, make it apparent, that they are still speculative Traytors. For whether they are zealous Sectaries, or profane Republicans, (of which two sorts they are principally compos'd) both our Reformers of Church and State, pretend to a power superior to Kingship. The Fanatics

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ticks derive their Authority from the Bible; and plead Religion to be antecedent to any secular obligation: By vertue of which Argument, taking it for granted, that their own Worship is only true, they arrogate to themselves the right of disposing the Temporal Power, according to their pleasure; as that which is subordinate to the Spiritual: So that the same Reasons, and Scriptures, which are urg'd by Popes for the deposition of Princes, are produc'd by Secretaries for altering the Succession. The Episcopal Reformation has manumiz'd Kings from the Usurpation of *Rome*; for it preaches obedience and resignation to the lawful Secular Power: but the pretended Reformation of our Schismaticks, is to set up themselves in the Papal Chair; and to make their Princes only their Trustees. So that whether they or the Pope were uppermost in *England*, the Royal Authority were equally depress'd: The Prison of our Kings wou'd be the same; the Goalers only wou'd be alter'd. The broad Republicans are generally Men of Atheistick Principles, nominal Christians, who are beholding to the Font, only that they are so call'd, otherwise *Hobbits* in their Politicks and Morals: Every Church is oblig'd to them that they own themselves of none; because their Lives are too scandalous for any. Some of
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the Sectaries are so proud, that they think they cannot sin ; those Commonwealth Men are so wicked, that they conclude there is no sin. Lewdness, Rioting, Cheating and Debauchery, are their work-a-day practice : Their more solemn crimes, are unnatural Lusts, and horrid Murthers. Yet these are the Patrons of the Non-conformists ; these are the Swords and Bucklers of God's Cause ; if his Cause be that of Separatists and Rebels. 'Tis not but these Associates know each other at the bottom, as well as *Simeon knew Levi* : The Republicans are satisfy'd, that the Schismaticks are Hypocrites, and the Schismaticks are assur'd that the Republicans are Atheists : But their common Principles of Government are the Chains that link them : For both hold Kings to be Creatures of their own making, and by inference to be at their own disposing. With this difference, notwithstanding, that the Canting Party face their pretences with a Call from God, the debauch'd Party, with a Commission from the people. So that if ever this ill contriv'd and equivocal association shou'd get uppermost, they wou'd infallibly contend for the supream right ; and as it was formerly on their money, so now it wou'd be in their interests ; *God with us* wou'd be set upon one side, and the Commonwealth of England on the other. But I
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the less wonder at the mixture of these two Natures, because two Salvage Beasts of different Species and Sexes shut up together, will forget their Enmity to satisfie their common Lust ; and 'tis no matter what kind of Monster is produc'd betwixt them, so the brutal appetite be serv'd. I more admire at a third Party, who were Loyal when Rebellion was uppermost, and have turn'd Rebels (at least in Principle,) since Loyalty has been Triumphant. Those of them whose Services have not been rewarded, have some pretence for discontent ; and yet they give the World to understand, that their Honour was not their Principle, but their Interest. If they are old Royalists, 'tis a sign their vertue is worn out, and will bear no longer ; if Sons to Royalists, they have probably been grafted on Whig stocks, and grown out of kind ; like *China Oranges* in *Portugal* : Their Mothers part has prevail'd in them, and they are degenerated from the Loyalty of their Fathers.

But if they are such, as many of them evidently are, whose service has been, not only fully but lavishly recompens'd, with Honours and Preferment, theirs is an ingratitude without parallel ; they have destroy'd their former merits, disown'd the Cause for which they fought, bely'd their youth,

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youth, dishonour'd their Age ; they have wrought themselves out of present enjoyments, for imaginary hopes, and can never be trusted by their new Friends, because they have betray'd their old. The greater and the stronger ties which some of them have had, are the deeper brands of their Apostacy : For Arch-Angels were the first and most glorious of the whole Creation : They were the morning work of God ; and had the first impressions of his Image, what Creatures cou'd be made : They were of Kin to Eternity it self ; and wanting only that accession to be Deities. Their fall was therefore more opprobrious than that of Man, because they had no Clay for their excuse : Though I hope and wish the latter part of the Allegory may not hold, and that repentance may be yet allow'd them. But I delight not to dwell on so sad an object : Let this part of the Landschape be cast into shadows, that the heightnings of the other may appear more beautiful. For as Contraries, the nearer they are plac'd are brighter, and the *Venus* is illustrated by the Neighbourhood of the *Lazar*, so the unblemish'd Loyalty of your Grace, will shine more clearly, when set in competition with their stains. When the Malady which had seiz'd the Nobler parts of *Britain*, threw it self out into the limbs, and the first sores
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of it appear'd in *Scotland*, yet no effects of it reach'd your Province: *Ireland* stood untainted with that pest: The care of the Physician prevented the Disease, and preserv'd the Country from infection. When that Ulcer was rather stop'd than cur'd, (for the causes of it still remain'd) and that dangerous Symptoms appear'd in *England*; when the Royal Authority was here trodden under foot, when one Plot was prosecuted openly, and another secretly fomented, yet even then was *Ireland* free from our contagion: And if some venomous Creatures were produc'd in that Nation, yet it appear'd they could not live there: They shed their poysn without effect: They despair'd of being successfully wicked in their own Country, and transported their Evidence to another, where they knew 'twas vendible: Where accusation was a Trade, where Forgeries were countenanc'd, where Perjuries were rewarded, where Swearing went for proof, and where the Merchandize of Death was gainful. That their Testimony was at last discredited, proceeded not from its incoherence: For they were known by their own Party when they first appear'd; but their folly was then manag'd by the cunning of their Tutors; they had still been believ'd, had they still follow'd their Instructors: But when their

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Witness fell foul upon their Friends, then they were proclaim'd Villains, discarded and disown'd by those who sent for them; they seem'd then first to be discover'd, for what they had been known too well before; they were decry'd as Inventors of what only they betray'd: Nay their very Wit was magnified, lest being taken for Fools, they might be thought too simple to forge an Accusation. Some of them still continue here detested by both sides, believ'd by neither: (for even their betters are at last uncas'd,) and some of them have receiv'd their hire in their own Country: For Perjury, which is malice to Mankind, is always accompanied with other Crimes: and tho' not punishable by our Laws with Death, yet draws a train of Vices after it: The Robber, the Murderer, and the Sodomite, have often hung up the forsworn Villain: And what one sin took on trust, another sin has pay'd. These travelling Locusts are at length swallow'd up in their own Red Sea. *Ireland* as well as *England*, is deliver'd from that flying Plague; for the Sword of Justice in your Graces Hand, like the Rod of *Moses*, is stretcht out against them: And the third part of his Majesties Dominions is owing for its Peace to your Loyalty and Vigilance.

But what *Plutarch* can this Age produce

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to immortalize a Life so Noble? May some excellent Historian at length be found, some Writer not unworthy of his Subject, but may his employment be long deferr'd: May many happy years continue you to this Nation and your own; may your praises be celebrated late; that we may enjoy you living, rather than adore you dead. And since yet, there is not risen up amongst us, any Historian who is equal to so great an undertaking, let us hope that Providence has not assign'd the Workman, because his employment is to be long delay'd; because it has reserv'd your Grace for farther proofs of your unwearied duty, and a farther enjoyment of your Fortune. In which, tho' no Man has been less envy'd, because no other has more Nobly us'd it; yet some droppings of the Ages venom have been shed upon you: The Supporters of the Crown are plac'd too near it, to be exempted from the storm which was breaking over it. 'Tis true, you stood involv'd in your own Virtue, and the Malice of your Libellers cou'd not sink through all those folds to reach you. Your Innocence has defended you from their attacks, and your Pen has so Nobly vindicated that Innocence, that it stands in need of no other second. The difference is as plainly seen, betwixt Sophistry and Truth, as it is betwixt the

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stile of a Gentleman, and the clumsy stiffness of a Pedant. Of all Historians God deliver us from Bigots; and of all Bigots from our Sectaries. Truth is never to be expected from Authors, whose understandings are warp'd with Enthusiasm: For they judge all actions and their causes by their own perverse Principles; and a crooked line can never be the measure of a streight one. Mr. Hobbs was us'd to say, that a Man was always against reason, when reason was against a Man: So these Authors are for obscuring truth, because truth would discover them. They are not Historians of an Action, but Lawyers of a Party: They are retain'd by their Principles, and brib'd by their Interests: Their Narrations are an opening of their cause; and in the front of their Histories, there ought to be written the Prologue of a pleading, *I am for the Plaintiff, or I am for the Defendant.* We have already seen large Volumes of State Collections, and Church Legends, stuff'd with detected Forgeries in some parts, and gaping with omissions of truth in others: Not penn'd I suppose with so vain a hope as to cheat Posterity, but to advance some Design in the present Age: For these Legerdemain Authors, are for telling stories, to keep their trick undiscover'd; and to make their conveyance the more clean. What calumny your

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Grace may expect from such Writers, is already evident: But it will fare with them, as it does with ill Painters; a Picture so unlike in all its Features and Proportions, reflects not on the original, but on the Artist: For Malice will make a Piece more unresembling than ignorance: And he who studies the life, yet bungles, may draw some faint imitation of it; but he who purposedly avoids nature, must fall into grotesque, and make no likeness. For my own part I am of the former sort: And therefore presume not to offer my unskillfulness for so excellent a design, as is your illustrious Life: To pray for its prosperity and continuance is my duty; as it is my Ambition to appear on all occasions,

*Your Graces most obedient
and devoted Servant,*

JOHN DRYDEN.

B 2

THE

THE Publisher to the Reader.

YOU have here, the first Volume of Plutarch's Lives, turn'd from the Greek into English; And (give me leave to say) the first attempt of doing it from the Originals. You may expect the Remainder, in four more; One after another as fast as they may conveniently be dispatch'd from the Press. It is not my busness, or pretence, to judge of a work of this quality, neither do I take upon me to recommend it to the World any farther, than under the Office of a fair and a careful Publisher, and in discharge of a Trust deposited in my hands for the service of my Country, and for a Common good. I am not yet so insensible of the Authority and Reputation of so great a Name, as not to consult the Honour of the Author, together with the benefit and satisfaction of the Bookseller, as well as of the Reader, in this undertaking. In order to which ends, I have with all possible Respect and Industry, Besought, Sollicited, and Obtain'd the Assistance of Persons equal to the Enterprize, and not only Criticks

in

The Publisher to the Reader.

in the Tongue, but Men of known Fame and Abilities, for Style and Ornament, but I shall rather refer you to the Learned and Ingenious Translators of this first Part, (whose Names you will find in the next Page) as a Specimen of what you may promise your self from the Rest.

After this Right done to the Greek Author, I shall not need to say what profit and delight will accrue to the English Reader from this Version, when he shall see this Illustrious Piece in his own Mother Tongue; and the very Spirit of the Original, Transfus'd into the Traduction. And in one word, Plutarch's Worthies made yet more famous, by a Translation that gives a farther Lustre, even to Plutarch himself.

Now as to the Bookseller's Part; I must justify my self, that I have done all that to me belonged: That is to say, I have been punctually Faithful to all my Commissions toward the Correctness and the Decency of the Work, and I have said to my self, that which I now say to the Publick;

It is impossible, but a Book that comes into the World with so many circumstances of Dignity, Usefulness, and Esteem, must turn to account.

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in this First Volume.

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A Chronological Table to the First Volume
of Plutarch's Lives.

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PLUTARCH

THE
LIFE
OF
PLUTARCH.

Written by Mr. DRYDEN.

I Know not by what Fate it comes to pass, that Historians, who give Immortality to others, are so ill requited by Posterity, that their Actions and their Fortunes are usually forgotten ; neither themselves encourag'd, while they live, nor their Memory preserv'd entire to future Ages. 'Tis the ingratitude of Mankind to their greatest Benefactors, that they, who teach us Wisdom by the surest ways, (setting before us what we ought to shun, or to pursue, by the Examples of the most Famous Men whom they Record, and by the Experience

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Experience of their Faults and Vertues,) should generally live poor and unregarded ; as if they were born only for the publick, and had no interest in their own well-being ; but were to be lighted up like Tapers, and to waste themselves, for the benefit of others. But this is a complaint too general, and the custom has been too long establish'd to be remedied ; neither does it wholly reach our Author : He was born in an Age, which was sensible of his Virtue ; and found a *Trajan* to reward him, as *Aristotle* did an *Alexander*. But the Historians, who succeeded him, have either been too envious, or too careless of his reputation ; none of them, not even his own Countrymen, having given us any particular account of him ; or if they have, yet their Works are not transmitted to us ; so that we are forc'd to glean from *Plutarch*, what he has scatter'd in his Writings, concerning himself, and his Original : Which (excepting that little memorial, that *Suidas*, and some few others, have left concerning him) is all we can Collect, relating to this Great Philosopher, and Historian.

He was Born at *Chæronea*, a small City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, and reaching to both Seas. The Climate not much befriended by the Heavens ; for the air is thick and foggy ; and consequently

quently the Inhabitants partaking of its influence, gross Feeders, and fat witted; brawny, and unthinking, just the constitution of Heroes: Cut out for the Executive and brutal business of War; but so stupid in the designing part, that in all the revolutions of *Greece* they were never Masters, but only in those few years, when they were led by *Epaminondas*, or *Pelopidas*. Yet this foggy air, this Country of fat Weathers, as *Juvenal* calls it, produc'd three Wits, which were comparable to any three *Athenians*: *Pindar*, *Epaminondas*, and our *Plutarch*, to whom we may add a fourth, *Sextus Chæronensis*, the Praeceptor of the Learned Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*; and the Nephew of our Authour.

Chæronea, (if we may give credit to *Pausanias*, in the ninth Book of his description of *Greece*) was anciently call'd *Arnè*, from *Arnè* the Daughter of *Æolus*; but being situated to the West of *Parnassus* in that low-land Country, the natural unwholesomeness of the Air was augmented by the Evening Vapours cast upon it from that Mountain, which our late Travellers describe to be full of moisture and marshy ground inclos'd in the inequality of its ascents: And being also expos'd to the Winds which blew from that quarter, the Town was perpetually unhealthful, for which reason, says my

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my Author, *Chæron*, the Son of *Apollo* and *Thero*, made it be rebuilt, and turn'd it towards the rising Sun; From whence the Town became healthful, and consequently populous; in memory of which benefit, it afterwards retain'd his name. But as *Etymologies* are uncertain, and the *Greeks*, above all Nations, given to fabulous derivations of Names, especially, when they tend to the Honour of their Country, I think we may be reasonably content to take the denomination of the Town, from its delightful or cheerful standing; as the word *Chæron* sufficiently implies.

But to lose no time, in these Grammatical *Etymologies*, which are commonly uncertain guesses, 'tis agreed that *Plutarch* was here born; the year uncertain, but without dispute in the Reign of *Claudius*.

Job. Gerrard Vossius has assign'd his Birth in the latter end of that Emperour: Some other Writers of his Life, have left it undecided, whether then, or in the beginning of *Nero's Empire*: But the most accurate *Rualdus* (as I find it in the *Paris Edition* of *Plutarch's Works*) has manifestly prov'd him to be born in the middle time of *Claudius*, or somewhat lower: For *Plutarch* in the Inscription at *Delphos*, of which more hereafter, remembers that *Ammonius* his Master disputed with him and his Brother *Lamprias* concerning

concerning it, when *Nero* made his Progress into *Greece*, which was in his twelfth year; and the Question disputed cou'd not be manag'd with so much learning as it was, by meer Boys; therefore he was then sixteen, or rather eighteen years of Age.

Xylander has observ'd, that *Plutarch* himself, in the Life of *Pericles*, and that of *Anthony*, has mention'd both *Nero*, and *Domitian*, as his Contemporaries. He has also left it on Record in his *Symposiaques*, that his Family was ancient in *Chæronea*; and that for many Descents, they had born the most considerable Offices in that petty Common-wealth. The chiefest of which was known by the name of *Archon* amongst the *Grecians*; by that of *Prætor Urbis* among the *Romans*; and the Dignity and Power was not much different from that of our Lord Mayor of *London*. His Great Grand-Father *Nicarchus* perhaps injoy'd that Office in the division of the Empire betwixt *Augustus Cæsar*, and *Mark Anthony*. And when the Civil Wars ensued betwixt them, *Chæronea* was so hardly us'd by *Anthony's* Lieutenant, or Commissary there, that all the Citizens without exception, were servilely employed to carry on their shou-lders a certain proportion of Corn from *Chæronea*, to the Coast over-against the Island of *Antycira*, with the Scourge held over them,

them, if at any time they were remiss: Which Duty after once performing, being enjoyn'd the second time with the same severity, just as they were preparing for their Journey, the welcom news arriv'd, that *Mark Anthony* had lost the Battel of *Actium*, whereupon both the Officers and Souldiers, belonging to him in *Chæronea*, immediately fled for their own safety; and the provisions thus collected, were distributed among the Inhabitants of the City.

This *Nicarchus*, the Great Grand-Father of *Plutarch*, among other Sons, had *Lamprias*, a Man eminent for his Learning; and a Philosopher, of whom *Plutarch* has made frequent mention in his *Symposiaques*, or *Table Conversations*; and amongst the rest, there is this Observation of him, that he disputed best, and unravell'd the difficulties of Philosophy with most success when he was at Supper, and well warm'd with Wine. These Table Entertainments were part of the Education of those times, their Discourses being commonly the Canvassing and Solution of some question, either Philosophical, or Philological, always instructive, and usually pleasant; for the Cups went round with the debate; and Men were merry and wise together, according to the Proverb, The Father of *Plutarch* is also mention'd in those Discourses, whom our Author represents

presents as arguing of several points in Philosophy ; but his name is no where to be found in any part of the Works remaining to us. But yet he speaks of him, as a Man not ignorant in Learning and Poetry, as may appear by what he says, when he is introduc'd disputing in the *Symposiaques* ; where also his prudence and humanity are commended, in this following Relation. Being yet very young (*says Plutarch*) I was joyn'd in Commission with another in an Embassy to the *Proconsul*, and my Colleague falling sick was forc'd to stay behind, so that the whole business was Transacted by me alone. At my return, when I was to give account to the Common-wealth of my Proceedings, my Father, rising from his Seat, openly enjoyn'd me not to name my self in the singular number, *I did thus, or thus, I said to the Proconsul, but thus we did, and thus we said,* always associating my Companion with me, though absent in the management : This was done to observe, as I suppose, the point of good manners with his Colleague, that of respect to the Government of the City, who had commission'd both, to avoid envy, and perhaps more especially, to take off the forwardness of a pert young Minister, commonly too apt to over-value his own services, and to quote himself on every inconsiderable occasion.

occasion. The Father of *Plutarch* had many Children besides him; *Timon* and *Lamprias*, his Brothers, were bred up with him, all three instructed in the Liberal Sciences, and in all parts of Philosophy. 'Tis manifest from our Author, that they liv'd together in great Friendliness, and in great veneration to their Grand-Father, and Father. What affection *Plutarch* bore in particular to his Brother *Timon*, may be gather'd from these words of his. As for my self, though Fortune on several occasions has been favourable to me, I have no obligation so great to her, as the Kindness and entire Friendship, which my Brother *Timon* has always born, and still bears me: And this is so evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our acquaintance. *Lamprias*, the youngest of the three, is introduc'd by him in his *Morals*, as one of a sweet and pleasant Conversation, inclin'd to Mirth and Raillery; or, as we say in English, a well humour'd Man, and a good Companion. The whole Family being thus addicted to Philosophy, 'tis no wonder if our Author was initiated betimes in Study, to which he was naturally inclin'd. In pursuit of which he was so happy, to fall into good hands at first; being recommended to the care of *Ammonius* an *Egyptian*, who, having taught Philosophy with great Reputation

tion at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, settled himself at last in *Athens*, where he was well receiv'd, and generally respected: At the end of *Themistocles his Life*, *Plutarch* relates, that being young, he was a Pensioner in the House of this *Ammonius*; and in his *Symposiaques* he brings him in disputing with his Scholars, and giving them instruction. For the Custom of those times was very much different from these of ours, where the greatest part of our Youth is spent in learning the words of dead Languages: The *Grecians*, who thought all *Barbarians* but themselves, despis'd the use of Foreign Tongues; so that the first Elements of their breeding was the knowledge of Nature, and the accommodation of that knowledge by Moral Precepts, to the service of the publick, and the private Offices of Virtue. The Masters employing one part of their time in reading to, and discoursing with their Scholars, and the rest, in appointing them their several Exercises, either in Oratory, or Philosophy; and setting them to declaim and to dispute amongst themselves. By this liberal sort of Education, study was so far from being a burthen to them, that in a short time it became a Habit, and Philosophical Questions, and Criticisms of Humanity, were their usual recreations at their Meals. Boys liv'd then

as the better sort of Men do now; and their Conversation was so well bred and Manly, that they did not plunge out of their depth into the World, when they grew up; but slid easily into it, and found no alteration in their Company. Amongst the rest, the Reading and Quotations of Poets were not forgotten at their Suppers, and in their Walks; but *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, were the Entertainment of their hours of freedom. Rods and Ferula's were not us'd by *Ammonius*, as being properly the punishment of Slaves, and not the Correction of ingenuous Free-born Men. At least to be only exercis'd by Parents, who had the power of Life and Death over their own Children. As appears by the Example of this *Ammonius*, thus related by our Author.

Our Master (says he) one time perceiving at his Afternoon Lecture, that some of his Scholars had eaten more largely than became the moderation of Students, immediately commanded one of his Free-Men to take his own Son, and Sceurge him in our sight; because, said the Philosopher, my young Gentleman cou'd not eat his Dinner without Poynant Sauce, or Vinegar; and at the same time he cast his eye on all of us: So that every Criminal was given to understand, that he had a share in the reprobation, and that the punishment was

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as well deserv'd by all the rest, had the Philosopher not known, that it exceeded his Commission to inflict it.

Plutarch therefore having the assistance of such a Master, in few years advanc'd to admiration in knowledge: And that without first Travelling into Foreign Parts, or acquiring any Foreign Tongue; though the *Roman* Language at that time was not only vulgar in *Rome* it self, but generally through the extent of that vast Empire, and in *Greece*, which was a Member of it, as our Author has remark'd towards the end of his *Platonick Questions*. For like a true Philosopher, who minded things, not words, he strove not even to Cultivate his Mother Tongue with any great exactness. And himself confesses in the beginning of *Demosthenes* his Life, that during his abode in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, he had neither the leisure to study, nor so much as to exercise the *Roman* Language; (I suppose he means to Write in it, rather than to speak it,) as well by reason of the affairs he manag'd, as that he might acquit himself to those who were desirous to be instructed by him in Philosophy. In so much, that till the declination of his Age, he began not to be conversant in Latin Books; in reading of which it happened somewhat oddly to him, that he learnt not the knowledge of things

by words; but by the understanding and use he had of things, attain'd to the knowledge of words which signified them. Just as *Adam* (setting aside Divine Illumination) call'd the Creatures by their proper Names, by first understanding of their natures. But for the delicacies of the Tongue, the turns of the Expression, the Figures and Connexions of Words, in which consist the Beauty of that Language, he plainly tells us, that tho' he much admir'd them, yet they requir'd too great labour for a Man in Age, and plung'd in business, to attain perfectly. Which Complement I shou'd be willing to believe from a Philosopher, if I did not consider, that *Dion Cassius*, nay even *Herodian* and *Appian* after him, as well as *Polybius* before him, by writing the *Roman History* in the *Greek Language*, had shewn as manifest a contempt of Latine, in respect of the other, as French-Men now do of *English*, which they disdain to speak, while they live among us: But with great advantage to their trivial conceptions, drawing the discourse into their own Language, have learnt to despise our better thoughts, which must come deform'd and lame in Conversation to them, as being transmitted in a Tongue of which we are not Masters. This is to arrogate a Superiority in Nature over us, as undoubtedly the *Grecians* did over their

their Conquerours, by establishing their Language for a Standard; it being become so much a mode to speak and write Greek in *Tully's* time, that with some indignation I have read his Epistles to *Atticus*, in which he desires to have his own Consulship written by his Friend in the *Grecian* Language, which he afterwards perform'd himself; a vain attempt in my opinion, for any Man to endeavour to excel in a Tongue which he was not born to speak. This, though it be digression, yet deserves to be consider'd at more leisure; for the Honour of our Wit and Writings, which are of a more solid make than that of our Neighbours, is concern'd in it. But to return to *Plutarch*, as it was his good fortune to moulded first by Masters the most excellent in their kind, so it was his own Vertue, to suck in with an incredible desire, and earnest application of mind, their wise instructions; and it was also his prudence so to mannage his Health by moderation of diet and bodily exercise, as to preserve his parts without decay to a great old Age; to be lively and vigorous to the last, and to preserve himself to his own Enjoyments, and to the profit of Mankind. Which was not difficult for him to perform, having receiv'd from Nature a constitution capable of labour; and from the Domestick Example of his Parents, a sparing sobriety

of diet, a temperance in other pleasures, and above all, an Habitude of commanding his Passions in order to his Health. Thus Principled and grounded, he consider'd with himself, that a larger Communication with Learned Men, was necessary for his accomplishment; and therefore, having a Soul insatiable of knowledge, and being ambitious to excel in all kinds of Science, he took up a resolution to Travel. *Egypt* was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning; and probably the Mysteriousness of their Doctrine might tempt him, as it had done *Pythagoras* and others, to converse with the Priesthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his business by the Treatise of *Ihs* and *Osyris*, which he has left us. In which he shews himself not meanly vers'd, in the Ancient Theology and Philology of those wise Men. From *Egypt* returning into *Greece*, he visited in his way all the Academies, or Schools of the several Philosophers, and gathered from them many of those observations with which he has enrich'd Posterity.

Besides this, he applyed himself, with extreme diligence, to collect not only all Books which were excellent in their kind, and already publish'd, but also all sayings and discourses of wise Men, which he had heard

heard in conversation, or which he had receiv'd from others by Tradition. As likewise the Records and publick Instruments, preserv'd in Cities, which he had visited in his Travels ; and which he afterwards scatter'd through his Works. To which purpose he took a particular Journey to *Sparta*, to search the Archives of that famous Commonwealth, to understand thoroughly the model of their ancient Government, their Legislators, their Kings, and their *Ephori*, digesting all their memorable deeds and sayings, with so much care, that he has not omitted those even of their Women, or their private Souldiers; together with their Customs, their Decrees, their Ceremonies, and the manner of their publick and private living, both in Peace and War. The same methods he also took in divers other Commonwealths, as his Lives, and his *Greek* and *Roman* Questions sufficiently testifie. Without these helps it had been impossible for him to leave in writing so many particular Observations of Men and Manners, and as impossible to have gather'd them, without Conversation and Commerce with the learned Antiquaries of his time. To these he added a curious Collection of Ancient Statues, Medals, Inscriptions, and Paintings, as also of Proverbial Sayings, Epigrams, Epitaphs, Apothegments, and other

Ornaments of History, that he might leave nothing unswept behind him. And as he was continually in Company with Men of learning, in all professions, so his Memory was always on the stretch, to receive and lodge their Discourses; and his Judgment perpetually employ'd in separating his notions, and distinguishing which were fit to be preserv'd, and which to be rejected.

By benefit of this, in little time he enlarg'd his knowledge to a great extent in every Science; himself in the beginning of the Treatise which he has compos'd of *Content and Peace of mind*, makes mention of those Collections, or Common places, which he had long since drawn together for his own particular occasions: And 'tis from this rich Cabinet that he has taken out those excellent pieces which he has distributed to Posterity, and which give us occasion to deplore the loss of the residue, which either the injury of time, or the negligence of Copiers have denied to us. On this account, tho we need not doubt to give him this general commendation, that he was ignorant of no sort of learning, yet we may justly add this farther, that whoever will consider through the whole body of his Works, either the design, the method, or the contexture of his Discourses, whether Historical or Moral, or Questions of

of natural Philosophy, or Solutions of Problems Mathematical, whether he arraigns the Opinions of other Sects, or establishes the Doctrines of his own, in all these kinds there will be found, both the harmony of order, and the beauty of easiness. His reasons so solid and convincing, his inductions so pleasant and agreeable to all sorts of Readers, that it must be acknowledged he was Master of every Subject which he treated, and treated none but what were improvable to the benefit of Instruction. For we may perceive in his Writing, the desire he had to imprint his Precepts in the Souls of his Readers; and to lodge Morality in Families, nay even to exalt it to the Thrones of Sovereign Princes, and to make it the Rule and Measure of their Government. Finding that there were many Sects of Philosophers then in vogue, he search'd into the foundation of all their Principles and Opinions; and not content with this disquisition, he trac'd them to their several Fountains. So that the *Pythagorean*, *Epicurean*, *Stoick*, and *Peripatetick* Philosophy, were familiar to him. And tho it may be easily observ'd, that he was chiefly inclin'd to follow *Plato* (whose Memory he so much reverenc'd, that Annually he Celebrated his Birth-Day, and also that of *Socrates*;) yet he modestly contain'd himself within the bounds

bounds of the latter Academy, and was content, like *Cicero*, only to propound and weigh Opinions, leaving the Judgment of his Readers free, without presuming to decide Dogmatically. Yet it is to-be confess'd, that in the midst of this moderation, he oppos'd the two extreams of the *Epicurean* and *Stoick* Sects: Both which he has judiciously combatted in several of his Treatises, and both upon the same account, because they pretend too much to certainty, in their Dogma's; and to impose them with too great arrogance; which he, who (following the Academists,) doubted more and pretended less, was no way able to support. The *Pyrrbonians*, or grosser sort of *Scepticks*, who bring all certainty in question, and startle even at the notions of Common sense, appear'd as absurd to him on the other side; for there is a kind of positiveness in granting nothing to be more likely on one part than on another, which his Academy avoided by inclining the ballance to that hand, where the most weighty reasons, and probability of truth were visible. The Moral Philosophy therefore was his chiefest aim, because the principles of it admitted of less doubt; and because they were most conducing to the benefit of humane life. For after the Example of *Socrates*, he had found, that the speculations of

Natural

Natural Philosophy, were more delightful than solid and profitable; that they were abstruse and thorny, and much of *Sophism* in the solution of appearances. That the Mathematicks indeed could reward his pains with many demonstrations, but tho' they made him wiser, they made him not more virtuous, and therefore attain'd not the end of happiness: For which reason, tho' he had far advanc'd in that Study, yet he made it but his Recreation, not his busines. Some Problem of it, was his usual divertisement at Supper, which he mingled also with pleasant and more light discourses. For he was no sour Philosopher, but past his time as merrily as he cou'd, with reference to Virtue: He forgot not to be pleasant while he instructed; and entertain'd his Friends with so much chearfulness and good humour, that his learning was not gauseous to them; neither were they affraid of his Company another time. He was not so Austere as to despise Riches, but being in possession of a large Fortune, he liv'd tho' not splendidly, yet plentifully; and suffer'd not his Friends to want that part of his Estate, which he thought superfluous to a Philosopher.

The Religion he profess'd, to speak the worse of it, was Heathen. I say the Religion he profess'd; for tis no way probable, that

that so great a Philosopher, and so wise a Man, shoud believe the Superstitions and Fopperies of *Paganism*: But that he accommodated himself to the use and receiv'd Customs of his Country. He was indeed a *Priest of Apollo*, as himself acknowledges, but that proves him not to have been a *Polytheist*.

I have ever thought, that the Wise-men in all Ages, have not much differ'd in their Opinions of Religion; I mean as it is grounded on humane Reason: For Reason, as as far as it is Right, must be the same in all Men; and Truth being but one, they must consequently think in the same Train. Thus it is not to be doubted, but the Religion of *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Plutarch*, was not different in the main: Who doubtless believ'd the identity of one Supream Intellectual Being, which we call **G O D**. But because they who have Written the Life of *Plutarch* in other Languages, are contented barely to assert, that our Author believ'd one God, without quoting those passages of his which wou'd clear the point; I will give you two of them, amongst many, in his *Morals*. The first is in his Book of the *Cessation of Oracles*; where arguing against the *Stoicks* (in behalf of the *Platonists*,) who disputed against the plurality of Worlds with this Argument; *That if there were many Worlds, how then* *cou'd*

cou'd it come to pâs, that there was one only Fate, and one Providence to guide them all? (for it was granted by the Platonists, that there was but one:) and why should not many Jupiters or Gods be necessary, for Government of many Worlds? To this Plutarch answers, That this their captious question was but trifling: For where is the necessity of supposing many Jupiters, for this Plurality of Worlds; when one excellent Being, indued with mind and reason, such as he is, whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, is sufficient to direct and rule these Worlds; whereas if there were more Supream Agents, their Decrees must still be the more absurd and contradictions to one another. I pretend not this passage to be Translated Word for Word, but 'tis the Sence of the Whole, tho the order of the Sentence be inverted. The other is more plain: 'Tis, in his Comment on the Word ΕΙ, or those two Letters Inscrib'd on the Gates of the Temple at *Delphos*. Where having given the several opinions concerning it, as first, that ει signifies if, because all the questions which were made to *Apollo* began with if; as suppose they ask'd, if the *Grecians* should overcome the *Perians*; if such a Marriage should come to pâs, &c. And afterwards, that ει might signify thou art, as the second Person of the present Tense of εἰμί, intimating thereby the

the being or perpetuity of being belonging to *Apollo*, as a God ; in the same sense that God express'd himself to *Moses*, *I am hath sent thee*; *Plutarch* subjoyns, (as inclining to this latter opinion) these following words, *ει δη* says he, *signifies thou art One, for there are not many Deities; but only one.* Continues, *I mean not one in the aggregate sense, as we say one Army, or one Body of Men, constituted of many individuals; but that which is, must of necessity be One; and to be, implies to be One. One is that which is a simple being, uncompounded, or free from mixture: Therefore to be One in this Sense, is only consistent with a Nature, pure in it self, and not capable of alteration, or decay.*

That he was no Christian is manifest: Yet he is no where found to have spoken with contumely of our Religion, like the other Writers of his Age, and those who succeeded him. *Theodoret* says of him, *that he had heard of our Holy Gospel; and inserted many of our Sacred Mysteries in his Works;* which we may easily believe, because the Christian Churches were then spread in *Greece*; and *Pliny the Younger*, was at the same time conversant amongst them in *Asia*, tho that part of our Authors Works is not now extant, from whence *Theodoret* might gather those passages. But we need not wonder, that a Philosopher was not easie

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to embrace the Divine Mysteries of our Faith. A modern God, as our Saviour was to him, was of hard digestion to a Man, who probably despis'd the vanities and fabulous Relations of all the old. Besides a Crucify'd Saviour of Mankind, a Doctrine attested by illiterate Disciples, the Author of it a *Jew*, whose Nation at that time was despicable, and his Doctrine but an innovation among that despis'd people, to which the Learned of his own Country gave no credit, and which the Magistrates of his Nation punish'd with an ignominious death; the Scene of his Miracles acted in an obscure Corner of the World; his being from Eternity, yet born in time, his Resurrection and Ascension, these and many more particulars, might easily choke the Faith of a Philosopher, who believ'd no more than what he cou'd deduce from the Principles of Nature; and that too with a doubtful Academical assent, or rather an inclination to assent to probability: which he judg'd was wanting in this new Religion. These circumstances consider'd, tho they plead not an absolute invincible ignorance in his behalf, yet they amount at least to a degree of it; for either he thought them not worth weighing, or rejected them when weigh'd; and in both cases he must of necessity be ignorant, because he cou'd not know without

Revelation,

Revelation, and the Revelation was not to him. But leaving the Soul of *Plutarch*, with our Charitable wishes, to his Maker, we can only trace the rest of his Opinions in Religion from his Philosophy: Which we have said in the General to be *Platonick*; tho it cannot also be denied, that there was a tincture in it of the *Electick Sect*, which was begun by *Potamon* under the Empire of *Augustus*, and which selected from all the other Sects, what seem'd most probable in their opinions, not adhering singularly to any of them, nor rejecting every thing. I will only touch his belief of Spirits. In his two Treatises of Oracles, the one concerning the reason of their Cessation, the other enquiring why they were not given in Verse, as in former times; he seems to assert the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls. We have formerly shewn, that he own'd the Unity of a Godhead; whom according to his Attributes, he calls by several names, as *Jupiter* from his Almighty Power, *Apollo* from his Wisdom, and so of the rest; but under him he places those beings whom he styles *Genii*, or *Dæmons*, of a middle nature, betwixt Divine and Humane: for he thinks it absurd, that there shou'd be no mean betwixt the two extremes, of an Immortal and a Mortal Being: That there cannot be in Nature so vast

vast a flaw, without some intermedial kind of life, partaking of them both ; as therefore we find the intercourse betwixt the Soul and Body, to be made by the Animal Spirits, so betwixt Divinity and Humanity there is this species of *Dæmons* : Who, having first been Men, and following the strict Rules of Vertue, had purg'd off the grossness and fæculency of their Earthly Being, are exalted into these *Genii* ; and are from thence either rais'd higher into an Ætherial Life, if they still continue vertuous, or tumbled down again into Mortal Bodies, and sinking into flesh after they have lost that Purity, which constituted their glorious being. And this sort of *Genii*, are those, who, as our Author imagines, presided over Oracles : Spirits which have so much of their terrestrial Principles remaining in them, as to be subject to passions and inclinations ; usually beneficent, sometimes Malevolent to Mankind, according as they refine themselves, or gather dross, and are declining into Mortal Bodies. The Cessation, or rather the decrease of Oracles, (for some of them were still remaining in Plutarch's time) he attributes either to the death of those *Dæmons*, as appears by the story of the *Egyptian Thamus*, who was Commanded to declare, that the great God *Pan* was dead, or to their forsaking of

those places, where they formerly gave out their Oracles; from whence they were driven by stronger *Genii*, into banishment for a certain Revolution of Ages. Of this last nature was the War of the Gyants against the Gods, the dispossession of *Saturn* by *Jupiter*, the banishment of *Apollo* from Heaven, the fall of *Vulcan*, and many others; all which, according to our Authors, were the Battles of these *Genii*, or *Dæmons* amongst themselves. But supposing, as *Plutarch* evidently does, that these Spirits administer'd, under the Supream Being, the affairs of Men, taking care of the Vertuous, punishing the Bad; and sometimes communicating with the best, as particularly the Genius of *Socrates*, always warn'd him of approaching dangers, and taught him to avoid them.

I cannot but wonder, that every one who has hitherto written *Plutarch's Life*, and particularly *Rualdus*, the most knowing of them all, should so confidently affirm, that these Oracles were given by bad Spirits, according to *Plutarch*: As Christians, indeed we may think them so; but that *Plutarch* so thought, is a most apparent falsehood: 'Tis enough to convince a reasonable Man, that our Author in his old Age, (and that then he doted not, we may see by the Treatise he has written, that old Men ought to

to have the managment of Publick Affairs) I say, that then he initiated himself, in the Sacred Rites of *Delphos*; and dyed, for ought we know, *Apollo's Priest*. Now it is not to be imagin'd, that he thought the God he serv'd a *Cacodæmon*, or as we call him a *Devil*. Nothing cou'd be farther from the opinion and practice of this holy Philosopher than so gross an impiety. The story of the *Pithias*, or *Priesterß of Apollo*, which he relates immediately before the ending of that Treatise, concerning the Cessation of Oracles, confirms my assertion, rather than shakes it: For 'tis there deliver'd,

"That going with great reluctation into the
"Sacred place to be inspir'd, she came out
"foaming at the Mouth, her Eyes goggling,
"her Breast heaving, her Voice undistin-
"guishable and shrill, as if she had an Earth-
"quake within her, labouring for vent;
"and in short, that thus tormented with
"the God, whom she was not able to sup-
"port, she died distracted in few days af-
"ter. For he had said before, that the De-
"vineress ought to have no perturbations
"of mind, or impure passions at the time
"when she was to consult the Oracle, and
"if she had, she was no more fit to be in-
"spir'd, than an Instrument untun'd, to
"render an harmonious sound: And he
gives us to suspect, by what he says at the

close of this Relation, "That this *Pythias* "had not liv'd Chastly for some time before "it. So that her death appears more like a "punishment inflicted for loose living by "some holy power, than the meer malig- "nancy of a Spirit delighted naturally in "mischief. There is another observation which indeed comes nearer to their purpose, which I will digress so far, as to relate, because it somewhat appertains to our own Country. "There are many Islands "says he) which lie scatter'd about *Bri- tain*, after the manner of our *Sporades*: "They are unpeopled, and some of them "are call'd the Islands of the Heroes, or the "Genii. One *Demetrius* was sent by the Emperour, (who by computation of the time must either be *Caligula*, or *Claudius*) to discover those parts, and arriving at one of the Islands next adjoyning to the foremention'd, which was inhabited by some few *Britains*, (but those held sacred and inviolable by all their Country-men,) immediately after his arrival, the air grew black and troubled, strange Apparitions were seen, the Winds rais'd a Tempest, and fiery Spouts or Whirlwinds appear'd dancing towards the Earth. When these Prodigies were ceas'd, the Islanders inform'd him, that some one of the aerial Beings, superiour to our Nature, then ceas'd to live. For

as

as a Taper, while yet burning, affords a pleasant harmless light, but is noysome and offensive when extinguisht, so those Hero's shine benignly on us, and do us good, but at their death turn all things topsie turvy, raise up tempests, and infect the air with pestilential Vapours. By those holy and inviolable men, there is no question but he means our *Druydes*, who were nearest to the *Pythagoreans* of any Sect; and this opinion of the *Genii* might probably be one of theirs: Yet it proves not that all *Dæmons* were thus malicious; only those who were to be Condemn'd hereafter into human bodies, for their misdemeanours in their aerial Being. But 'tis time to leave a subject, so very fanciful, and so little reasonable as this: I am apt to imagine the natural vapours arising in the Cave where the Temple afterwards was Built, might work upon the Spirits of those who enter'd the holy place, as they did on the Shepherd *Coretas*, who first found it out by accident; and encline them to *Enthusiasm* and prophetick Madness. That as the strength of those vapours diminish'd, (which were generally in Caverns, as that of *Mopsus*, of *Trophonius*, and this of *Delphos*,) so the inspiration decreas'd by the same measures: That they happen'd to be stronger, when they kill'd the *Pythias*, who being conscious of this, was so unwilling

ling to enter. That the Oracles ceas'd to be given in Verse, when Poets ceas'd to be the Priests, and that the Genius of *Socrates*, (whom he confess'd never to have seen, but only to have heard inwardly, and unperceiv'd by others,) was no more than the strength of his imagination ; or to speak in the Language of a Christian *Platonist*, his Guardian Angel.

I pretend not to an exactness of method in this Life, which I am forc'd to collect by patches from several Authors ; and therefore without much regard to the connection of times which are so uncertain.

I will in the next place speak of his Marriage. His Wife's name, her Parentage, and Dowry, are no where mention'd by him, or any other, nor in what part of his Age he Married ; tho 'tis probable, in the flower of it : But *Rualdus* has ingeniously gather'd from a convincing circumstance, that she was called *Timoxena* : Because *Plutarch* in a Consolatory Letter to her, occasion'd by the Death of their Daughter in her Infancy, uses these words : *Your Timoxena is depriv'd (by death) of small enjoyments ; for the things she knew were of small moment, and she cou'd be delighted only with trifles.* Now it appears by the Letter, that the Name of this Daughter was the same with her Mother's, therefore it cou'd be no other than

Timoxena.

Timoxena. Her knowledge, her conjugal Vertues, her abhorrency from the vanities of her Sex, and from superstition, her gravity in Behaviour, and her constancy in supporting the loss of Children, are likewise Celebrated by our Author. No other Wife of *Plutarch* is found mention'd; and therefore we may conclude he had no more: By the same reason for which we judge, that he had no other Master than *Ammonius*; because 'tis evident he was so grateful in his Nature, that he would have preserv'd their Memory.

The number of his Children was at least five; so many being mention'd by him. Four of them were Sons; of the other Sex only *Timoxena*, who died at two years old, as is manifest from the Epistle abovemention'd. The French Translator *Amiot*, from whom our old English Translation of the Lives was made, supposes him to have had another Daughter, where he speaks of his Son-in-Law *Crato*. But the word *γαμβέος*, which *Plutarch* there uses, is of a larger signification; for it may as well be expounded Father-in-Law, his Wife's Brother, or his Sister's Husband, as *Budæus* notes: This I the rather mention, because the same *Amiot* is task'd for an infinite number of mistakes, by his own Country-men of the present Age; which is enough to recommend this Transla-

tion of our Author into the English Tongue, being not from any Copy, but from the Greek Original. Two other Sons of *Plutarch* were already deceas'd, before *Timoxena*. His eldest *Autobulus*, mention'd in his *Sympo-siaques*, and another whose Name is not Recorded. The youngest was called *Charon*, who also dyed in his Infancy : The two remaining are suppos'd to have surviv'd him. The Name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own ; and that of the other *Lamprias*, so call'd in memory of his Grand-Father. This was he, of all his Children, who seems to have inherited his Father's Philosophy : And to him we owe the Table or Catalogue of *Plutarch's Writings*, and perhaps also the *Apothege-ms*. His Nephew, but whether by his Brother or Sister remains uncertain, was *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was much honour'd by that Learned Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, and who taught him the Greek Tongue, and the Principles of Philosophy : This Emperour professing *Stoicism*, as appears by his Writings,) inclines us to believe, that our *Sextus Chæroneus*, was of the *Stoick Sect* ; and consequently, that the World has generally been mistaken, in supposing him to have been the same Man with *Sextus Empiricus* the *Sceptick* ; whom *Suidas* plainly tells us to have been an *African* : Now *Empiricus* cou'd not but be a *Sceptick*, for he opposes

poses all Dogmatists, and particularly them. But I heard it first observ'd by an ingenious and Learned old Gentleman lately deceas'd, that many of Mr. Hobbs his seeming new opinions, are gather'd from those which *Sextus Empiricus* expos'd. The Book is extant, and I refer the curious to it, not pretending to arraign, or to excuse him. Some think the Famous Critick *Longinus* was of *Plutarch's* Family, descended from a Sister of his ; but the proofs are so weak, that I will not insert them : They may both of them rely on their proper merits ; and stand not in want of a Relation to each other. 'Tis needless to infist on his behaviour in his Family : His Love to his Wife, his Indulgence to his Children, his care of their Education are all manifest in that part of his Works which is call'd his Morals. Other parts of his disposition have been touch'd already ; as that he was courteous and humane to all Men ; free from inconstancy, anger, and the desire of revenge ; which qualities of his, as they have been prais'd by the Authority of other Writers, may also be recommended from his own Testimony of himself. *I had rather, says he, be forgotten in the memory of Men, and that it shou'd be said, there neither is, nor was a Man call'd Plutarch, than that they should report, this Plutarch was unconstant, changeable in his temper, prone to anger*

anger and revenge on the least occasions. What he was to his Slaves you may believe from this, that in general he accuses those Masters of extream hardness and injustice, who use Men like Oxen ; sell them in their age when they can drudge no longer. *A Man, says he, of a merciful disposition, ought not to retrench the fodder from his Cattle, nor the Provender from his Horses when they can work no longer, but to cherish them when worn out and old.* Yet Plutarch, tho he knew how to moderate his anger, was not on the contrary, subject to an insensibility of wrongs ; not so remiss in exacting duty, or so tame in suffering the disobedience of his Servants, that he cou'd not correct when they deserv'd it : As is manifest from the following story, which Aulus Gellius had from the mouth of Taurus the Philosopher concerning him. Plutarch had a certain Slave, a saucy stubborn kind of Fellow ; in a word, one of those pragmatical Servants, who never make a fault, but they give a reason for it ; his justifications one time wou'd not serve his turn, but his Master commanded him to be strip'd ; and that the Law should be laid on his backside. He no sooner felt the smart, but he mutter'd that he was unjustly punish'd, and that he had done nothing to deserve the Scourge. At last he began to bawl out louder ; and, leaving off his groaning, his sighs and his lamentations, to argue

argue the matter with more shew of reason: And, as under such a Master, he must needs have gain'd a smattering of Learning, he cry'd out, that Plutarch was not the Philosopher he pretended himself to be, that he had heard him waging War against all the passions; and maintaining that anger was unbecoming a wise Man: Nay, that he had written a particular Treatise, in commendation of Clemency. That therefore he contradicted his Preceps by his practices, since abandoning himself over to his Choler, he exercis'd such inhumane cruelty on the body of his fellow Creature. How's this, (Mr. Varlet,) answered Plutarch, by what signs and tokens can you prove I am in passion? Is it by my Countenance, my Voice, the colour of my Face, by my Words, or by my Gestures, that you have discover'd this my Fury? I am not of opinion, that my Eyes sparkle, that I foam at Mouth, that I gnash my Teeth, or that my Voice is more vehement, or that my Colour is either more pale, or more red than at other times; that I either shake or stamp with madness, that I say or do any thing unbecoming a Philosopher: These, if you know them not, are the Symptoms of a Man in rage: In the mean (turning to the Officer who scourg'd him) while he and I dispute this matter, mind you your busness on his back.

His love to his Friends and his gratitude to his Benefactors are every where observable,

ble, in his Dedications of his several Works, and the particular Treatises he has written to them on several occasions, are all suitable either to the Characters of the Men, or to their present condition, and the circumstances under which they were. His love to his Country is from hence conspicuous, that he professes to have written the Life of *Lucullus*, and to have preserv'd the memory of his actions, because of the favours he conferr'd on the City of *Chæronea*; which tho his Country receiv'd so long before, yet he thought it appertain'd to him to repay them, and took an interest in their acknowledgment. As also, that he vindicated the *Bœotians* from the Calumnies of *Herodotus* the Historian in his Book concerning the malignity of that Author. In which tis observable, that his zeal to his Country transported him too far; for *Herodotus* had said no more of them than what was generally held to be true in all Ages, concerning the grossness of their wits, their voracity, and those other national Vices, which we have already noted on this account; therefore *Petrarch* has accus'd our Author of the same malignity, for which he tax'd *Herodotus*: But they may both stand acquitted on different accounts: *Herodotus* for having given a true Character of the *Thebans*, and *Petrarch* for endeavouring to palliate the Vices of

of a People from whom he was descended. The rest of his manners, without entering into particulars, were unblameable, if we excuse a little proneness to superstition: And regulating his actions by his dreams: But how far this will bear an accusation I determine not, tho *Tully* has endeavour'd to shew the vanity of Dreams, in his Treatise of *Divinations*, whither I refer the curious.

On what occasion he repair'd to *Rome*, at what time of his Age he came thither, how long he dwelt there, how often he was there, and in what year he return'd to his own Country, are all uncertain: This we know, that when *Nero* was in *Greece*, which was in his eleventh and twelfth years, our Author was at *Delphos*, under *Ammonius*, his Master; as appears by the disputation then manag'd, concerning the Inscription of the two Letters E. I. *Nero* not living long afterwards, 'tis almost indisputable, that he came not to *Rome* in all his Reign. 'Tis improbable, that he wou'd undertake the Voyage during the troublesome times of *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*; and we are not certain, that he liv'd in *Rome* in the Empire of *Vespasian*: Yet we may guess, that the mildness of this Emperour's Dominion, his Fame and the Virtues of his Son *Titus*, assum'd into the Empire afterwards by

by his Father, might induce *Plutarch*, amongst other considerations, to take this Journey in his time. 'Tis argu'd from the following story, related by himself; that he was at *Rome*, either in the joint Reign of the two *Vespasians*, or at least in that of the Survivor *Titus*. He says then, in his last Book concerning *Curiosity*. "Reasoning, "or rather reading once, at *Rome*, *Arule-nus Rusticus*, the same Man whom afterwards *Domitian* put to Death out of envy "to his Glory, stood hearkning to me amongst my Auditors: It so happen'd, "that a Souldier, having Letters for him "from the Emperour, (who was either *Titus*, or his Father *Vespasian*, as *Rualdus* thinks) "broke through the crowd, to deliver him those Letters from the Emperour. Observing this, I made a pause in "my dissertation, that *Rusticus* might have "the leisure to read the Mandate which was "sent him; but he absolutely refus'd to do "it, neither wou'd he be intreated to break "the Seals till I had wholly made an end of "my Speech, and dismiss'd the Company. Now I suppose the stress of the Argument, to prove that this Emperour was not *Domitian*, lies only in this Clause (whom *Domitian* afterwards put to death:) but I think it rather leaves it doubtful, for they might be *Domitian's* Letters which he then receiv'd,

receiv'd, and consequently he might not come to *Rome* till the Reign of that Emperour. This *Rufius* was not only a learned but a good Man: He had been *Tribune* of the people under *Nero*, was *Prætor* in the time of *Vitellius*, and sent Ambassador to the Forces, rais'd under the Name of *Vespasian*, to perswade them to a peace. What Offices he bore afterwards we know not, but the cause of his death, besides the envy of *Domitian* to his Fame, was a certain Book, or some Commentaries of his, wherein he had prais'd too much the Sanctity of *Thræsa Pætus* whom *Nero* had Murther'd: And the praise of a good Citizen was insupportable to the Tyrant; being, I suppose, exasperated farther by some reflections of *Rufius*, who could not commend *Thræsa*, but at the same time he must inveigh against the Oppressor of the *Roman* Liberty. That *Plutarch* was Married in his own Country, and that before he came to *Rome* is probable; that the Fame of him was come before him, by reason of some part of his Works already publish'd, is also credible, because he had so great resort of the *Roman* Nobility, to hear him read immediately, as we believe, upon his coming: That he was invited thither by the correspondence he had with *Soffius Senecio*, might be one reason of his undertaking that Journey, is almost undeni-
able.

able. It likewise appears he was divers times at *Rome*; and perhaps, before he came to inhabit there, might make acquaintance with this worthy Man *Senecio*, to whom he Dedicated almost all these Lives of *Greeks* and *Romans*. I say almost all, because one of them, namely, that of *Aratus*, is inscrib'd in most express words to *Polycrates the Sicyonian*, the great Grand-Son of the said *Aratus*. This worthy Patron and Friend of *Plutarch*, *Senecio*, was four times Consul; the first time in the short Reign of *Cocceius Nerva*, a Virtuous and a Learned Emperour; which opinion I rather follow than that of *Aurelius Cassiodorus*, who puts back his Consulship into the last of *Domitian*, because it is not probable, that vicious Tyrant should exalt to that Dignity a Man of Virtue. This year falls in with the year of Christ ninety nine.

But the great inducement of our Author to this Journey was certainly the desire he had to lay in materials for his *Roman Lives*; that was the design which he had form'd early, and on which he had resolv'd to build his Fame. Accordingly we have observ'd, that he had travell'd over *Greece* to peruse the Archives of every City; that he might be able to write properly, not only the Lives of his *Grecian Worthies*, but the Laws, the Customs, the Rites and Ceremonies

nies of every place. Which that he might treat with the same Mastery of skill, when he came to draw his *Parallels of the Romans*, he took the invitation of his Friends, and particularly of our *Soffius Senecio*, to visit this Mistress of the World, this imperial City of *Rome*; and, by the favour of many great and learned men then living, to search the Records of the Capitol, and the Libraries, which might furnish him with Instruments for so noble an undertaking. But that this may not seem to be my own bare opinion, or that of any modern Author, whom I follow, *Plutarch* himself has deliver'd it as his motive, in the life of *Demosthenes*: The words are these, " Whosoever designs to write an History, (which 'tis impossible to form to any excellency from those materials, that are ready at hand, or to take from common report, while he sits lazily at home in his own Study, but must of necessity be gather'd from Foreign Observations and the scatter'd Writings of various Authors) it concerns him to take up his Habitation in some renown'd and populous City, where he may Command all sorts of Books, and be acquainted also with such particulars as have escap'd the Pens of Writers, and are only extant in the memories of Men. Let him inquire diligently, and weigh judiciously, what

"he hears and reads, lest he publish a lame
"Work, and be destitute of those helps
"which are requir'd to its perfection. 'Tis
then most probable, that he pass'd his days
at *Rome*, either in reading Philosophy of all
kinds, to the *Roman Nobility*, who fre-
quented his House, and heard him, as if
there were somewhat more than humane
in his words ; and his Nights (which were
his only hours of private Study) in search-
ing and examining Records, concerning
Rome. Not but that he was intrusted also
with the management of publick affairs in
the Empire, during his residence in the Me-
tropolis : Which may be made out by what
Suidas relates of him. *Plutarch* (says he)
liv'd in the time of Trajan, and also before his
Reign: That Emperour bestow'd on him the
Dignity of Consul, (tho the Greek, I suppose,
will bear, that he made him Consul with
himself, at least transferr'd that honour on
him:) *An Edict was also made in favour of*
him, that the Magistrates or Officers of Illyria
should do nothing in that Province without the
knowledge and approbation of Plutarch. Now
'tis my particular guess (for I have not read
it any where) that *Plutarch* had the affairs
of *Illyria* (now called *Sclavonia*) recom-
mended to him, because *Trajan*, we know,
had Wars on that side the Empire, with *De-
cebalus* King of *Dacia*; after whose defeat
and

and death, the Province of *Illyria* might stand in need of *Plutarch's* Wisdom to compose and civilize it : But this is only hinted, as what possibly might be reason of our Philosopher's superintendency in those quarters ; which the *French* Author of his Life, seems to wonder at, as having no relation either to *Chæronea* or *Greece*.

When he was first made known to *Trajan* is like the rest uncertain, or by what means, whether by *Senecio*, or any other, he was introduc'd to his acquaintance : But 'tis most likely, that *Trajan*, then a private Man, was one of his Auditors, amongst others of the Nobility of *Rome*. 'Tis also thought, this wise Emperour made use of him in all his Councils, and that the happiness which attended him in his undertakings, together with the administration of the Government, which in all his Reign was just and regular, proceeded from the instructions which were given him by *Plutarch*. *Johannes Sarisberiensis*, who liv'd above six hundred years ago, has transcrib'd a Letter written, as he suppos'd, by our Author to that Emperour; whence he had it is not known, nor the Original in Greek to be produc'd; but it pass'd for Genuine in that Age, and if not *Plutarch's*, is at least worthy of him, and what might well be suppos'd a Man of his Character would

write; for which reason I have here Translated it.

Plutarch to Trajan.

I Am satisfied that your modesty sought not the Empire, which yet you have always studied to deserve by the excellency of your manners. And by so much the more are you esteem'd worthy of this honour, by how much you are free from the Ambition of desiring it. I therefore congratulate both your virtue, and my own good fortune, if at least your future Government shall prove answerable to your former merit: Otherwise you have involv'd your self in dangers, and I shall infallibly be subject to the Censures of detracting Tongues; because Rome will never support an Emperour unworthy of her, and the faults of the Scholar will be upbraided to the Master. Thus Seneca is reproach'd, and his Fame still suffers for the Vices of Nero. The miscarriages of Quintilian's Scholars have been thrown on him, and even Socrates himself is not free from the imputation of remissness, on the account of his Pupil (Alcibiades.) But you will certainly administer all things as becomes you, if you still continue what you are, if you recede not from your self, if you begin at home, and lay the Foundation of Government on the Command of your own Passions, if you make Virtue the scope of all your Actions, they

they will all proceed in harmony and order : I have set before you the force of Laws and Civil Constitutions of your Predecessours ; which if you imitate and obey, Plutarch is then your Guide of Living ; if otherwise, let this present Letter be my Testimony against you, that you shall not ruine the Roman Empire, under the pretence of the Counsel and Authority of Plutarch.

It may be conjectur'd, and with some shew of probability, from hence, that our Author not only collected his materials, but also made a rough draught of many of these parallel Lives at *Rome*, and that he read them to *Trajan* for his instruction in Government ; and so much the rather I believe it, because all Historians agree, that this Emperour, tho naturally prudent and inclin'd to Virtue, had more of the Soldier than the Scholar in his Education, before he had the happiness to know *Plutarch* ; for which reason the *Roman* Lives, and the inspection into ancient Laws, might be of necessary use to his direction. And now for the time of our Author's abode in the Imperial City, if he came so early as *Vespasian*, and departed not till after *Trajan's* Death, as is generally thought, he might continue in *Italy* near forty years. This is more certain, because gather'd from him-

self, that his Lives were almost the latest of his Works ; and therefore we may well conclude, that having model'd, but not finish'd them at *Rome*, he afterwards resum'd the work in his own Country ; which perfecting in his old Age, he dedicated to his Friend *Senecio* still living, as appears by what he has written, in the Proem to his Lives.

The desire of visiting his own Country, so natural to all Men, and the approaches of old Age, (for he could not be much less than sixty,) and perhaps also the death of *Trajan*, prevail'd with him at last to leave *Italy* ; or if you will have it in his own words, *he was not willing his little City shou'd be one the less by his absence* : After his return, he was, by the unanimous consent of his Citizens, chosen *Archon*, or Chief Magistrate of *Cæronea*; and not long after admitted himself in the number of *Apollo's* Priests ; in both which employments he seems to have continued till his death : Of which we have no particular account, either as to the manner of it, or the year ; only 'tis evident, that he liv'd to a great old Age, always continuing his Studies ; that he died a natural death, is only presum'd, because any violent accident to so famous a Man would have been recorded : And in whatsoever Reign he deceas'd, the days of

Tyranny

Tyranny were over-paſſ'd, and there was then a Golden Series of Emperours, every one emulating his Predeceſſors Vertues.

Thus I have Collected from *Plutarch* himſelf, and from the *best Authors*, what was most remarkable concerning him. In per- forming which, I have labour'd under ſo many uncertainties, that I have not been able to ſatisfie my own Curioſity, any more than that of others. 'Tis the Life of a Philoſopher, not varied with accidents to di- vert the Reader: More pleafant for himſelf to live than for an Historian to deſcribe. Those Works of his, which are irrecover- ably loſt, are nam'd in the Catalogue made by his Son *Lamprias*, which you will find in the *Paris Edition*, Dedicated to King *Lewis* the Thirteenth; But 'tis a ſmall com- fort to a Merchant, to perufe his Bill of Fraight, when he is certain his Ship is caſt away: Mov'd by the like reaſon, I have omitted that ungrateful task: Yet that the Reader may not be impos'd on, in those which yet remain, 'tis but reasonable to let him know, that the Lives of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, tho' they paſſ with the ignorant for Genuiue, are only the Forgery of *Donato Acciaiolo*, a Florentine. He pretends to have Translated them from a *Greek Manuscript*, which none of the Learned have ever ſeen, either before, or ſence. But the Cheat is

more manifest from this reason which is undeniable, that *Plutarch* did indeed write the Life of *Scipio*, but he compar'd him not with *Hannibal*, but with *Epaminondas*: As appears by the Catalogue, or Nomenclature of *Plutarch's Lives*, drawn up by his Son *Lamprias*, and yet extant. But to make this out more clearly, we find the *Florentine*, in his Life of *Hannibal*, thus relating, the famous Conference betwixt *Scipio* and him. " *Scipio* at that time being sent Ambassador from the *Romans*, to King *Anthonius*, with *Publius Villius*: It happen'd then, that these two great Captains met together at *Ephesus*, and amongst other Discourse, it was demanded of *Hannibal* by *Scipio*, whom he thought to have been the greatest Captain? To whom he thus answer'd; in the first place *Alexander* of *Macedon*, in the second *Pyrrhus* of *Epirus*, and in the third himself: To which, *Scipio* smiling thus reply'd; And what wou'd you have thought, had it been your fortune to have vanquish'd me? to whom *Hannibal*, " I should then have adjudg'd the first place to my self; Which answer was not a little pleasing to *Scipio*, because by it he found himself not disesteem'd, nor put into comparison with the rest, but by the delicacy and gallantry of a well turn'd Compliment, set like a Man divine above them all. Now

Now this relation is a meer compendium of the same Conference from *Livy*. But if we can conceive *Plutarch* to have written the Life of *Hannibal*, 'tis hard to believe, that he should tell the same story after so different, or rather so contrary a manner, in another place. For, in the Life of *Pyrrhus*, he thus writes. " *Hannibal* adjudg'd " the præminence to *Pyrrhus* above all Cap- " tains, in Conduct and Military skill: Next " to *Pyrrhus* he plac'd *Scipio*, and after *Sci- " pio* himself; as we have declar'd in the Life of *Scipio*. 'Tis not that I wou'd excuse *Plutarch*, as if he never related the same thing diversly; for 'tis evident, that through want of advertency he has been often guilty of that error, of which the Reader will find too frequent Examples in these Lives; but in this place he cannot be charg'd with want of memory or care, because what he says here, is relating to what he had said formerly: So that he may mistake the story, as I believe he has done, (that other of *Livy*, being much more probable,) but we must allow him to remember what he had before written. From hence I might take occasion to note some other lapses of our Author, which yet amount not to falsification of truth, much less to partiality, or envy, (both which are manifest in his Country-man *Dion Cassius*, who

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who writ not long after him,) but are only the frailties of humane Nature ; mistakes not intentional, but accidental. He was not altogether so well vers'd, either in the *Roman Language*, or in their *Coins*, or in the value of them ; in some *Customs*, *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*, he took passages on trust from others, relating both to them and the *Barbarians*, which the Reader may particularly find recited in the *Animadversions* of the often prais'd *Rualdus* on our Author. I will name but one to avoid tediousness, because I particularly observ'd it, when I read *Plutarch* in the Library of *Trinity College in Cambridge*, (to which Foundation, I gratefully acknowledge a great part of my Education;) 'tis that *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cicero*, speaking of *Verres*, who was accus'd by him, and repeating a miserable jeast of *Tully's*, says, that *Verres*, in the *Roman Language* signifies a barrow Pig, that is, one which has been guelded. But we have a better account of the signification from *Varro*, who we have more reason to believe, that the Male of that kind, before he is cut, is called *Verres*; after cutting *Majalis*, which is perhaps a diminutive of *Mas*, tho' generally the reason of the Etymology is given from its being a Sacrifice to the Goddess *Maja*. Yet any Man, who will candidly weigh this and the like Errours,

rours, may excuse *Plutarch*, as he wou'd a stranger, mistaking the propriety of an English word: And besides the humanity of this excuse, 'tis impossible in nature, that a Man of so various Learning, and so covetous of ingrossing all, should perfectly digest such an infinity of notions in many Sciences, since to be excellent in one is so great a labour.

It may now be expected, that having written the *Life* of an *Historian*, I should take occasion to write somewhat concerning History it self: But I think to commend it is unnecessary: For the profit and pleasure of that study are both so very obvious, that a quick Reader will be beforehand with me, and imagine faster than I can write. Besides, that the Post is taken up already, and few Authors have travell'd this way, but who have strewed it with Rhetorick, as they pass'd. For my own part, who must confess it to my shame, that I never read any thing but for pleasure, it has always been the most delightful Entertainment of my Life. But they who have employ'd the study of it as they ought, for their instruction, for the regulation of their private manners, and the management of publick affairs, must agree with me, that it is the most pleasant School of Wisdom.

'Tis a familiarity with past Ages, and an acquaintance

acquaintance with all the Heroes of them. 'Tis, if you will pardon the similitude, a Prospective-Glass carrying your Soul to a vast distance, and taking in the farthest objects of Antiquity. It informs the understanding by the memory: It helps us to judge of what will happen, by shewing us the like revolutions of former times. For Mankind being the same in all Ages, agitated by the same Passions, and mov'd to action by the same interests, nothing can come to pass, but some President of the like nature has already been produc'd, so that having the causes before our Eyes, we cannot easily be deceiv'd in the effects, if we have Judgment enough but to draw the parallel.

God, 'tis true with his divine Providence, over-rules and guides all actions to the secret end he has ordain'd them; but in the way of humane causes, a wise Man may easily discern, that there is a natural connection betwixt them; and tho he cannot foresee accidents, or all things that possibly can come, he may apply Examples, and by them foretel, that from the like Counsels will probably succeed the like Events: And thereby in all concerns, and all Offices of Life be instructed in the two main points, on which depend our happiness, that is, what to avoid and what to choose. The

Laws

Laws of History in general are truth of matter, method, and clearness of expression. The first propriety is necessary to keep our understanding from the impositions of falsehood: For History is an Argument fram'd from many particular Examples, or Inductions: If these Examples are not true, then those measures of Life, which we take from them, will be false, and deceive us in their consequence: The second is grounded on the former, for if the method be confus'd, if the words or expressions of thought are any way obscure, then the Idea's which we receive must be imperfect; and if such, we are not taught by them what to elect, or what to shun. Truth therefore is requir'd, as the foundation of History, to inform us, disposition and perspicuity, as the manner to inform us plainly: One is the being, the other the well-being of it. History is principally divided into these three Species. *Commentaries* or *Annals*; *History* properly so called; and *Biographia*, or the Lives of particular Men.

Commentaries or *Annals* are (as I may so call them) naked History: Or the plain relation of matter of fact, according to the succession of time, divested of all other Ornaments. The Springs and Motives of actions are not here sought, unless they offer themselves, and are open to every Man's discernment.

discernment. The method is the most natural that can be imagin'd, depending only on the observation of Months and Years, and drawing, in the order of them, whatsoever happen'd worthy of Relation. The stile is easie, simple, unforc'd, and unadorn'd, with the pomp of figures; Counsels, guesses, politick Observations, Sentences, and Orations, are avoided: In few words, a bare Narration is its business. Of this kind the *Commentaries of Cæsar* are certainly the most admirable; and after him the *Annals of Tacitus* may have place. Nay even the Prince of Greek Historians, *Thucydides*, may almost be adopted into the number. For tho he instructs every where by Sentences, tho he gives the causes of actions, the Counsels of both Parties, and makes Orations where they are necessary; yet it is certain, that he first design'd his Work a Commentary; every year writing down, like an unconcern'd Spectator as he was, the particular Occurrences of the time, in the order as they happen'd, and his Eighth Book is wholly written after the way of Annals; tho, out living the War, he inserted in his others those Ornaments which render his work the most compleat, and most instructive now extant.

History, properly so call'd, may be describ'd by the addition of those parts, which are

are not requir'd to *Annals*: And therefore there is little farther to be said concerning it: Only that the dignity and gravity of stile is here necessary. That the guesses of secret causes, inducing to the actions, be drawn at least from the most probable circumstances, not perverted by the malignity of the Author to sinister interpretations, (of which *Tacitus* is accus'd;) but candidly laid down, and left to the Judgment of the Reader. That nothing of concernment be omitted, but things of trivial moment are still to be neglected, as debasing the Majesty of the Work. That neither partiality, or prejudice appear: But that Truth may every where be Sacred, (*ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat Historicus.*) That he neither incline to superstition, in giving too much credit to Oracles, Prophecies, Divinations, and Prodigies; nor to irreligion, in disclaiming the Almighty Providence: But where general opinion has prevail'd of any miraculous accident or portent, he ought to relate it as such, without imposing his Opinion on our belief. Next to *Thucydides* in this kind, may be accounted *Polibius* amongst the Grecians; *Livy*, tho' not free from superstition, nor *Tacitus* from ill nature, amongst the Romans: Amongst the modern *Italians*, *Guicciardine*, and *D'Avilla*, if not partial; but above all Men

Men in my opinion, the plain, sincere, unaffected, and most instructive *Philip de Commines* amongst the *French*; tho' he only gives his History the humble Name of *Commentaries*. I am sorry I cannot find in our own Nation (tho' it has produc'd some commendable Historians) any proper to be ranked with these. *Buchanan* indeed for the purity of his Latin, and for his Learning, and for all other Endowments belonging to an Historian, might be plac'd amongst the greatest, if he had not too much lean'd to prejudice, and too manifestly declar'd himself a Party of a Cause, rather than an Historian of it. Excepting only that, (which I desire not to urge too far, on so great a Man, but only to give caution to his Readers concerning it,) our Isle may justly boast in him, a Writer comparable to any of the Moderns, and excell'd by few of the Ancients.

Biographia, or the History of particular Mens Lives, comes next to be consider'd; which in dignity is inferiour to the other two, as being more confin'd in action, and treating of Wars and Counsels, and all other publick affairs of Nations, only as they relate to him, whose Life is written, or as his Fortunes have a particular dependance on them, or connection to them: All things here are circumscrib'd, and driven to a point,

point, so as to terminate in one : Consequently if the action or Counsel were manag'd by Colleagues, some part of it must be either lame or wanting ; except it be supply'd by the Excursion of the Writer : Herein likewise must be less of variety for the same reason ; because the fortunes and actions of one Man are related, not those of many. Thus the actions and achievements of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, are all of them but the successive parts of the *Mithridatick War*: Of which we cou'd have no perfect Image, if the same hand had not given us the whole, tho' at several views, in their particular Lives.

Yet, tho' we allow, for the Reasons above alledg'd, that this kind of Writing is in dignity inferiour to *History* and *Annals*, in pleasure and instruction it equals, or even excels both of them. 'Tis not only commended by ancient practice, to celebrate the memory of great and worthy men, as the best thanks which Posterity can pay them; but also the Examples of Vertue are of more vigor, when they are thus contracted into individuals. As the Sun beams, united in a Burning-glass to a point, have greater force than when they are darted from a plain Superficies ; so the vertues and actions of one Man, drawn together into a single Story, strike upon our minds a

stronger and more lively impression, than the scatter'd Relations of many Men, and many actions; and by the same means that they give us pleasure, they afford us profit too. For when the understanding is intent and fix'd on a single thing, it carries closer to the mark, every part of the object sinks into it, and the Soul receives it unmixt and whole. For this reason *Aristotle* commends the unity of action in a Poem; because the mind is not capable of digesting many things at once, nor of conceiving fully any more than one Idea at a time. Whatsoever distracts the pleasure, lessens it. And as the Reader is more concern'd at one Mans Fortune, than those of many; so likewise the Writer is more capable of making a perfect Work, if he confine himself to this narrow compass. The Lineaments, Features, and Colourings of a single Picture, may be hit exactly; but in a History-piece of many Figures, the general design, the ordinance or disposition of it, the Relation of one figure to another, the diversity of the posture, habits, shadowings, and all the other graces conspiring to an uniformity, are of so difficult performance, that neither is the resemblance of particular persons often perfect, nor the beauty of the Piece compleat: For any considerable error in the parts, renders the whole disagreeable and lame.

Thus

Thus then the perfection of the Work, and the benefit arising from it are both more absolute in *Biography* than in History: All History is only the Precepts of Moral Philosophy reduc'd into Examples: *Moral Philosophy* is divided into two Parts, *Ethicks* and *Politicks*; the first instructs us in our private offices of Virtue; the second in those which relate to the management of the Common wealth. Both of these teach by Argumentation and reasoning: which rush as it were into the mind, and possess it with violence: But History rather allures than forces us to Virtue. There is nothing of the Tyrant in Example; but it gently glides into us, is easie and pleasant in its passage, and in one word, reduces into practise our speculative notions. Therefore the more powerful the Examples are, they are the more useful also: And by being more known they are more powerful. Now unity, which is defin'd, is in its own nature more apt to be understood, than multiplicity, which in some measure participates of infinity. The reason is Aristotle's.

Biographia, or the Histories of particular Lives, tho circumscrib'd in the subject, is yet more extensive in the stile than the other two: For it not only comprehends them both, but has somewhat superadded,

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which neither of them have. The stile of it is various, according to the occasion. There are proper places in it, for the plainness and nakednes of narration, which is ascrib'd to Annals; there is also room reserv'd for the loftiness and gravity of general History, when the actions related shall require that manner of expression. But there is withal, a descent into minute circumstances, and trivial passages of Life, which are natural to this way of writing, and which the dignity of the other two will not admit. There you are conducted only into the rooms of state; here you are led into the private Lodgings of the Heroe: You see him in his undress, and are made familiar with his most private actions and conversations. You may behold a *Scipio* and a *Lelius* gathering Cockle-shells on the shore, *Augustus* playing at bounding-stones with *Boyes*; and *Ageſilaus* riding on a Hobby-Horse among his Children. The Pageantry of Life is taken away; you see the poor reasonable Animal, as naked as ever Nature made him; are made acquainted with his Passions and his Follies, and find the *Demy-God* a *Man*. *Plutarch* himself, has more than once defended this kind of relating little passages. For in the Life of *Alexander* he says thus. *In writing the Lives of Illustrious Men, I am not tyed to the Laws*

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of History: Nor does it follow, that because an action is great, it therefore manifests the greatness and virtue of him who did it; but on the other side sometimes a word, or a casual jest, betrays a Man more to our knowledge of him, than a Battel fought, wherein ten thousand Men were slain, or sacking of Cities, or a course of Victories. In another place he quotes Xenophon on the like occasion: "The sayings of great Men, in their familiar discourses, and amidst their Wine, have somewhat in them, which is worthy to be transmitted to Posterity. Our Author therefore needs no excuse, but rather deserves a commendation, when he relates, as pleasant, some sayings of his Heroes, which appear, (I must confess it,) very cold and insipid mirth to us. For 'tis not his meaning to commend the jest, but to paint the Man; besides, we may have lost somewhat of the Idiotism of that Language in which it was spoken; and where the conceit is couch'd in a single word, if all the significations of it are not critically understood, the grace and the pleasantry are lost. But in all parts of Biography, whether familiar or stately, whether sublime or low, whether serious or merry, Plutarch equally excell'd: If we compare him to others, Dion Cassius is not so sincere, Herodian, a lover of truth, is often-times deceiv'd himself,

with what he had falsly heard reported ; then the time of his Emperours exceeds not in all above sixty years ; so that his whole History will scarce amount to three Lives of *Plutarch*. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* may be call'd alike, either Authors of Histories, or Writers of Lives : But the first of them runs too willingly into obscene descriptions, which he teaches while he relates ; the other, besides what has already been noted by him, often falls into obscurity ; and both of them have made so unlucky a choice of times, that they are forc'd to describe rather Monsters than Men ; and their Emperours are either extravagant Fools, or Tyrants, and most usually both. Our Author on the contrary, as he was more inclin'd to commend than to dispraise, has generally chosen such great Men as were famous for their several Vertues ; at least such whose frailties or vices were over pois'd by their excellencies ; such from whose Examples we may have more to follow than to shun. Yet, as he was impartial, he disguis'd not the faults of any Man. An Example of which is in the Life of *Lucullus* ; where, after he has told us, that the double benefit which his Country-men, the *Chæroneans*, receiv'd from him, was the chieftest motive which he had to write his Life, he afterwards rips up his

his Luxury, and shews how he lost through his mismanagement, his Authority, and his Souldiers love. Then he was more happy in his digressions than any we have nam'd. I have always been pleas'd to see him, and his Imitator *Montaign*, when they strike a little out of the common road : For we are sure to be the better for their wandring.

The best Quarry lies not always in the open Field : And who woud not be content to follow a good Huntsman over Hedges and Ditches when he knows the Game will reward his pains ? But if we mark him more narrowly, we may observe, that the great reason of his frequent starts, is the variety of his Learning : He knew so much of Nature, was so vastly furnish'd with all the treasures of the mind, that he was uneasy to himself, and was forc'd , as I may say, to lay down some at every passage, and to scatter his riches as he went : Like another *Alexander*, or *Adrian*, he built a City, or planted a Colony in every part of his Progres ; and left behind him some memorial of his greatness. *Sparta*, and *Thebes*, and *Athens*, and *Rome*, the Mistress of the World, he has discover'd in their Foundations, their Institutions, their growth, their heighth, the decay of the three first, and the alteration of the last. You see those several People in their different Laws and Policies, and Forms

of Government, in their Warriours, and Senators, and Demagogues. Nor are the Ornaments of Poetry, and the illustrations of similitudes forgotten by him ; in both which he instructs as well as pleases : Or rather pleases that he may instruct.

This last reflection leads me naturally to say somewhat in general of his stile, tho after having justly prais'd him for copiousness of Learning, Integrity, Perspicuity, and more than all this, for a certain air of goodness which appears through all his Writings, it were unreasonable to be critical on his Elocution : As on a Tree which bears excellent Fruit, we consider not the beauty of the Blossoms : For if they are not pleasant to the Eye, or delightful to the scent, we know at the same time, that they are not the prime intention of Nature, but are thrust out in order to their product ; so in *Plutarch*, whose business was not to please the Ear, but to Charm and to instruct the mind, we may easily forgive the cadences of words, and the roughness of expression : Yet for Manliness of Eloquence, if it abounded not in our Author, it was not wanting in him : He neither studied the sublime stile, nor affected the flowry. The choice of words, the numbers of periods, the turns of Sentences, and those other Ornaments of Speech, he neither sought nor shun'd.

But

But the depth of sense, the accuracy of Judgment, the disposition of the parts and contexture of the whole, in so admirable and vast a Field of matter; and lastly, the copiousness and variety of words, appear shining in our Author. 'Tis indeed observ'd of him, that he keeps not always to the stile of Prose, but if a Poetical word, which carries in it more of Emphasis or signification, offer it self at any time, he refuses it not because *Homer* or *Eurypides* have us'd it: But if this be a fault I know not how *Xenophon* will stand excus'd. Yet neither do I compare our Author with him, or with *Herodotus* in the sweetness and graces of his stile, nor with *Thucydides* in the solidity and closeness of expression. For *Herodotus* is acknowledg'd the Prince of Ionick, the other two of the Attick Eloquence. As for *Plutarch*, his stile is so particular, that there is none of the Ancients, to whom we can properly resemble him. And the reason of this is obvious; for being conversant in so great variety of Authors, and collecting from all of them, what he thought most excellent, out of the confusion, or rather mixture of all their stiles, he form'd his own, which partaking of each, was yet none of them; but a compound of them all, like the *Corinthian Metal*, which had in it Gold, and Brass, and Silver,

Silver, and yet was a species by its self. Add to this, that in *Plutarch's* time, and long before it, the purity of the Greek Tongue was Corrupted, and the native splendour of it had taken the tarnish of *Barbarism*, and contracted the filth and spots of degenerating Ages. For the fall of Empires always draws after it the Language and Eloquence of the People: They, who labour under misfortunes or servitude, have little leisure to cultivate their Mother Tongue: To conclude, when *Athens* had lost her Sovereignty to the *Peloponnesians*, and her liberty to *Philip*, neither a *Thucydides*, nor a *Demosthenes* were afterwards produc'd by her.

I have formerly acknowledg'd many lapses of our Author, occasion'd through his inadvertency, but he is likewise tax'd with faults, which reflect on his Judgment in matters of fact, and his Candour in the comparisons of his *Greeks* and *Romans*. Both which are so well vindicated by *Montaign*, that I need but barely to Translate him.
"First then he is accus'd of want of Judgment, in reporting things incredible:
"For proof of which is alledg'd the story
"he tells of the *Spartan* Boy, who suffer'd
"his Bowels to be torn out by a young
"Fox which he had stolen, choosing rather
"to hide him under his Garment 'till he di-

"ed.

"ed, than to confess his Robbery, In the
"first place this Example is ill chosen, be-
"cause 'tis difficult to set a bound to the
"force of our internal faculties, 'tis not de-
"fin'd how far our resolution may carry us
"to suffer: The force of Bodies may more
"easily be determin'd than that of Souls:
"Then of all people the *Lacedemonians*, by
"reason of their rigid institution, were
"most harden'd to undergo labours, and
"to suffer pains. *Cicero*, before our Au-
"thor's time, tho then the *Spartan* virtue
"was degenerated, yet avows to have seen
"himself some *Lacedemonian* Boyes, who to
"make tryal of their patience, were plac'd
"before the Altar of *Diana*, where they en-
"dur'd scourging, till they were all over
"bloody, and that not only without cry-
"ing, but even without a sigh or groan:
"Nay, and some of them so ambitious of
"this reputation, that they willingly re-
"sign'd their Lives under the hands of their
"Tormentors. The same may be said of
"another story, which *Plutarch* vouches
"with an hundred Witnesses, that in the
"time of Sacrifice, a burning Coal by chance,
"falling into the Sleeve of a *Spartan* Boy,
"who held the Censer, he suffer'd his Arm
"to be scorch'd so long without moving
"it, that the scent of it reak'd up to the
"Noses of the Assistants.

"For

" For my own part, who have taken in
" so vast an Idea of the Lacedemonian mag-
" nanimity, Plutarch's story is so far from
" seeming incredible to me, that I neither
" think it wonderful nor uncommon : For
" we ought not to measure possibilities or
" impossibilities by our own standard, that
" is, by what we our selves cou'd do or
" suffer. These, and some other slight Ex-
" amples, are made use of, to lessen the
" opinion of Plutarch's Judgment : But the
" common exception against his Candor, is,
" that in his parallels of Greeks and Romans,
" he has done too much honour to his
" Countrymen in matching them with He-
" roes, with whom they were not worthy
" to be compar'd. For instances of this,
" there are produc'd the comparisons of
" Demosthenes and Cicero, Aristides and Cato,
" Lysander and Sylla, Pelopidas and Marcel-
" lus, Agesilaus and Pompey : Now the
" ground of this accusation is most proba-
" bly the lustre of those Roman Names,
" which strikes on our imagination. For
" what proportion of glory is there betwixt
" a Roman Consul, or Proconsul of so great a
" Common-wealth, and a simple Citizen of
" Athens ? But he who considers the truth
" more nearly, and weighs not honours
" with honours, but Men with Men, which
" was Plutarch's main design, will find in
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“ the Ballance of their Manners, their Vertues, their Endowments and Abilities, “ that *Cicero* and the *Elder Cato*, were far from having the overweight against *Demosthenes* and *Aristides*. I might as well complain against him in behalf of his own Countrymen : For neither was *Camillus* so famous as *Themistocles* ; nor were *Tiberius* and *Cajus Gracchus* comparable to *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, in regard of dignity : Much less was the wisdom of *Numa* to be put in Ballance against that of *Lycurgus*, or the modesty and temperance of *Scipio*, against the solid Philosophy and perfect virtue of *Epaminondas*: Yet the disparity of Victories, the reputation, the blaze of Glory, in the two last were evidently on the *Roman* side. But as I said before, to compare them this way, was the least of *Plutarch*'s aim ; he openly declares against it : For speaking of the course of *Pompey*'s Fortune, his Exploits of War, the greatness of the Armies which he commanded, the splendour and number of his Triumphs, in his comparison betwixt him and *Agestlaus*, I believe, says he, that if *Xenophon* were now alive, and would indulge himself the liberty to write all he could to the advantage of his Heroe *Agestlaus*, he would be ashamed to put their acts in competition. In his comparison of *Sylla* and

" and *Lysander*; there is, says he, no manner of equality, either in the number of their Victories, or in the danger of their Battels; for *Lysander* only gain'd two Naval Fights, &c. Now this is far from particularity to the *Grecians*. He who wou'd convince him of this Vice, must shew us in what particular Judgment he has been too favourable to his Countrymen, and make it out in general where he has fail'd in matching such a *Greek* with such a *Roman*; which must be done by shewing how he could have pair'd them better; and naming any other in whom the resemblance might have been more perfect. But an equitable Judge who takes things by the same handle which *Plutarch* did, will find there is no injury offer'd to either Party, tho' there be some disparity betwixt the persons: For he weighs every circumstance by it self, and judges separately of it: Not comparing Men at a lump, nor endeavouring to prove they were alike in all things, but allowing for disproportion of quality or fortune, shewing wherein they agreed or disagreed, and wherein one was to be preferr'd before the other.

I thought I had answer'd all that cou'd reasonably be objected against our Authors Judgment; but casually casting my Eye on

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the Works of a French Gentleman, deservedly famous for Wit and Criticism, I wonder'd, amongst many Commendations of *Plutarch*, to find this one reflection. "As for his Comparisons, they seem truly to me very great; but I think he might have carried them yet farther, and have penetrated more deeply into humane Nature: There are folds and recesses in our minds, which have escap'd him; he judges Man too much in gross; and thinks him not so different, as he is often from himself: The same Person being just, unjust, merciful, and cruel; which qualities seeming to be ly each other in him, he attributes their inconsistencies to foreign Causes: In fine, if he had describ'd *Cataline*, he wou'd have given him to us, either Prodigal or Covetous: That *alieni appetens sui profusus*, was above his reach. He could never have reconcil'd those contrarieties in the same subject, which *Salust* has so well unfolded, and which *Montaign* so much better understood.

This Judgment cou'd not have proceeded, but from a Man who has a nice taste in Authors; and if it be not altogether just, 'tis at least delicate, but I am confident, that if he please to consider this following passage taken out of the Life of *Sylla*, he will moderate, if not retract his censure.

"In

"In the rest of his manners he was unequal, irregular, different from himself: *ανώμαλος της εοικε, καὶ διάφορος περὶ εαυτὸν.* He took many things by rapine, he gave more: Honour'd Men immoderately, and us'd them contumeliously: Was submissive to those of whom he stood in need, insulting over those who stood in need of him: So that it was doubtful, whether he were more form'd by Nature to arrogance or flattery. As to his uncertain way of punishing, he would sometimes put men to death on the least occasion; at other times he wou'd pardon the greatest Crimes: So that judging him in the whole, you may conclude him to have been naturally Cruel, and prone to vengeance, but that he could remit of his severity, when his Interests requir'd it.

Here methinks our Author seems to have sufficiently understood the folds and doubles of *Sylla's* disposition; for his Character is full of variety and inconsistencies. Yet in the conclusion, 'tis to be confess'd, that *Plutarch* has assign'd him a bloody nature: The Clemency was but artificial and assum'd, the Cruelty was inborn: But this cannot be said of his rapine, and his prodigality; for here the *alieni appetens, sui profusus* is as plainly describ'd, as if *Plutarch* had borrow'd the sense from *Salust*: And

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as he was a great Collector, perhaps he did. Nevertheless he judg'd rightly of *Sylla*, that naturally he was Cruel: For that quality was predominant in him; and he was oftner revengeful than he was merciful. But this is sufficient to vindicate our Authors Judgment from being superficial, and I desire not to press the Argument more strongly against this Gentleman, who has Honour'd our Country by his long Residence amongst us.

It seems to me, I must confess, that our Author has not been more hardly treated by his Enemies, in his comparing other Men, than he has been by his Friends, in their comparing *Seneca* with him. And herein, evén *Montaign* himself is scarcely to be defended. For no Man more esteem'd *Plutarch*, no Man was better acquainted with his Excellencies, yet this notwithstanding, he has done too great an honour to *Seneca*, by ranking him with our Philosopher and Historian; him, I say, who was so much less a *Philosopher*, and no *Historian*: 'Tis a Reputation to *Seneca*, that any one has offer'd at the Comparison: The worth of his Adversary makes his defeat advantagious to him; and *Plutarch* might cry out with Justice, *Qui cum vicit erit, mecum certasse feretur*. If I had been to find out a parallel for *Plutarch*, I should rather have

G pitch'd

pitch'd on *Varro* the most learned of the *Romans*, if at least his Works had yet remain'd; or with *Pomponius Atticus*, if he had written. But the likenes of *Seneca* is so little, that except the ones being Tutor to *Nero*, and the other to *Trajan*, both of them strangers to *Rome*, yet rais'd to the highest dignities in that City, and both Philosophers, tho of several Sects; (for *Seneca* was a *Stoick*, *Plutarch* a *Platonician*, at least an Academick, that is, half *Platonist* half *Sceptick*:) besides some such faint resemblances as these, *Seneca* and *Plutarch* seem to have as little Relation to one another, as their Native Countries, *Spain* and *Greece*. If we consider them in their inclinations or humours, *Plutarch* was sociable and pleasant, *Seneca* morose and melancholly. *Plutarch* a lover of Conversation and sober Feasts: *Seneca* reserv'd; uneasie to himself when alone, to others when in Company. Compare them in their manners, *Plutarch* every where appears candid, *Seneca* often is censorious. *Plutarch*, out of his natural humanity, is frequent in commending what he can; *Seneca*, out of the sowness of his temper, is prone to Satyr, and still searching for some occasion to vent his gaul. *Plutarch* is pleas'd with an opportunity of praising Virtue; and *Seneca*, (to speak the best of him,) is glad of a pretence to reprehend

prehend Vice. *Plutarch* endeavours to teach others, but refuses not to be taught himself; for he is always doubtful and inquisitive: *Seneca* is altogether for teaching others, but so teaches them, that he imposes his Opinions; for he was of a Sect too imperious and dogmatical, either to be taught or contradicted. And yet *Plutarch* writes like a man of a confirm'd probity, *Seneca* like one of a weak and staggering Virtue. *Plutarch* seems to have vanquish'd Vice, and to have triumph'd over it: *Seneca* seems only to be combating and resisting, and that too but in his own defence. Therefore *Plutarch* is easie in his Discourse, as one who has overcome the difficulty: *Seneca* is painful, as he who still labours under it. *Plutarch's* Virtue is humble and civiliz'd: *Seneca* is haughty and ill-bred. *Plutarch* allures you, *Seneca* commands you. One wou'd make Virtue your Companion, the other your Tyrant. The stile of *Plutarch* is easie and flowing; that of *Seneca* precipitous and harsh. The first is even, the second broken. The Arguments of the Grecian drawn from reason, work themselves into your understanding, and make a deep and lasting impression in your mind: Those of the Roman drawn from wit, flash immediately on your imagination, but leave no durable effect. So this tickles you by

starts with his arguteness, that pleases you for continuance, with his propriety. The course of their fortunes seems also to have partaken of their stiles; for *Plutarch's* was equal, smooth, and of the same tenour: *Seneca's* was turbid, unconstant and full of revolution. The Life of *Plutarch* was unblameable, as the Reader cannot but have observ'd; and of all his Writings there is nothing to be noted as having the least tendency to Vice; but only that little Treatise, which is intituled *Ep̄w̄l̄nḡs*, wherein he speaks too broadly of a sin, to which the Eastern and Southern parts of the World are most obnoxious: But *Seneca* is said to have been more libertine than suited with the gravity of a Philosopher, or with the austerity of a Stoick. An ingenious Frenchman esteems as he tells us, his Person rather than his Works; and values him more as the *Præceptor* of *Nero*, a Man ambitious of the Empire, and as the Gallant of *Agrippina*, than as a Teacher of Morality. For my part I dare not push the commendation so far: His courage was perhaps praise worthy, if he endeavour'd to deliver *Rome* from such a Monster of Tyranny, as *Nero* was then beginning to appear: His ambition too was the more excusable, if he found in himself an ability of governing the World, and a desire of doing good to humane kind:

But

But as to his good Fortunes with the Empress, I know not what value ought to be set on a wise Man for them. Except it be, that Women generally liking without Judgment, it was a Conquest for a Philosopher once in an Age, to get the better of a Fool. However methinks there is something of aukward in the adventure: I cannot imagine, without laughter, a *Pedant* and a *Stoick*, making love in a long Gown; for it puts me in mind of the civilities which are us'd by the Cardinals and Judges in the dance of the Rehearsal: If *Agrippina* wou'd needs be so lavish of her favours, since a Sot grew nauseous to her, because he was her Husband, and nothing under a Wit, cou'd attone for *Claudius*, I am half sorry that *Petrionius* was not the Man: We cou'd have born it better from his Character, than from one who profess'd the severity of Virtue, to make a Cuckold of his Emperour and Benefactor. But let the Historian answer for his own Relation: Only, if true, 'tis so much the worse, that *Seneca*, after having abus'd his Bed, cou'd not let him sleep quiet in his Grave. The *Apocolocyntosis*, or mock deification of *Claudius*, was too sharp and insulting on his memory: And *Seneca*, tho he could preach forgiveness to others, did not practice it himself in that Satyr: Where was the patience and insensibility

of a Stoick, in revenging his Banishment with a Libel? Where was the Morality of a Philosopher, in defaming and exposing of an honest's Fool? And where was common humanity, in railing against the dead? But the talent of his malice is visible in other places: He censures *Meenias*, and I believe justly, for the looseness of his manners, the voluptuousness of his Life, and the effeminacy of his stile; but it appears, that he takes pleasure in so doing; and that he never forc'd his nature, when he spoke ill of any Man. For his own stile, we see what it is, and if we may be as bold with him, as he has been with our old Patron, we may call it a shatter'd Eloquence, not vigorous, not united, not embodied, but broken into fragments; every part by it self pompous, but the whole confus'd and unharmonious. His Latin, as *Monsieur St. Evremont* has well observ'd, has nothing in it of the purity and elegance of *Augustus* his times; and 'tis of him and of his Imitators, that *Petronius* said; *Pace vestrâ liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis.* The *Controversiae sententiis vibrantibus pictæ*, and the *vanus Sententiarum strepitus*, make it evident, that *Seneca* was tax'd under the person of the old Rhetorician. What quarrel he had to the Uncle and the Nephew, I mean *Seneca* and *Lucan*, is not known; but *Petronius*

nius plainly points them out; one for a bad Orator, the other for as bad a Poet: His own Essay of the Civil War is an open defiance of the *Pharsalia*; and the first Oration of *Eumolpus*, as full an Arraignment of Seneca's false Eloquence. After all that has been said, he is certainly to be allowed a great Wit, but not a good Philosopher: Not fit to be compar'd with *Cicero*, of whose reputation he was emulous, any more than *Lucan* is with *Virgil*: To sum up all in few words, consider a Philosopher declaiming against riches, yet vastly rich himself; against avarice, yet putting out his Money at great Extortion here in *Britain*; against honours, yet aiming to be Emperour; against pleasure, yet enjoying *Agrippina*, and in his old Age married to a beautiful young Woman: And after this, let him be made a *Parallel* to *Plutarch*.

And now, with the usual vanity of Dutch Prefacers, I could load our Author with the praises and commemorations of Writers: For both Ancient and Modern have made honourable mention of him. But to cumber pages with this kind of stuff, were to raise a distrust in common Readers that *Plutarch* wants them. *Rualdus* indeed has Collected ample Testimonies of them; but I will only recite the names of some, and refer you to him for the particular quotations.

He reckons *Gellius*, *Eusebius*, *Himerius* the Sophister, *Eunapius*, *Cyrillus of Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, *Agathias*, *Photius* and *Xiphilin*, Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Johannes Sarisberiensis*, the famous *Petrarch*, *Petrus Victorius*, and *Justus Lipsius*.

But *Theodorus Gaza*, a Man Learned in the Latin Tongue, and a great restorer of the Greek, who liv'd above two hundred years ago, deserves to have his suffrage set down in words at length: For the rest have only commended *Plutarch* more than any single Author, but he has extoll'd him above all together.

'Tis said, that having this extravagant question put to him by a Friend, that if Learning must suffer a general Shipwrack, and he had only his choice left him of preserving one Author, who shou'd be the Man he wou'd preserve; he answer'd *Plutarch*; and probably might give this reason, that in saving him, he should secure the best Collection of them all.

The Epigram of *Agathias*, deserves also to be remember'd: This Author flourish'd about the year five hundred, in the Reign of the Emperour *Justinian*: The Verses are extant in the *Anthologia*, and with the Translation of them, I will conclude the praises of our Author; having first admonish'd you, that they are suppos'd to be written
on

on a Statue Erected by the Romans to his
Memory.

Σέο πολυκλίνειτα τύπον σίσαντο Χερωνεῦ
Πλάταρχε κεφαλεῖν ύσσες Ἀυσονίαν :
Οὐδὲ θεραπεύοντος βίοις Ἑλλήνας δέισες
Ράμης ἐνπολέμοις πριωσας ἐνναέταις :
Αλλὰ τεῦ βιόθοιο θεραπεύοντος βίοις ἀλλοι
Οὐδὲ σύγ ἀν γεγέταις, & ταρ ὅμοιον ἔχεις.

Cheronean Plutarch, to thy deathless praise,
Does Martial Rome this grateful Statue raise :
Because both Greece and she thy Fame have
shar'd;
(Their Heroes written, and their Lives com-
par'd.)

But thou thy self coud'st never write thy own ;
Their Lives have Parallels, but thine has none.

F I N I S.

THESEUS.



M. Burghers delin. et sculp.

THE
LIFE
OF
THESEUS.

Englisched from the Greek,
By R. Duke, *Trin. Col. Cant. Soc.*

Volume I.

A S Historians, in their Geographical descriptions of Countries, crowd into the farthest parts of their Maps those places that escape their knowledge, with some such Remarks in the Margin as these ; All beyond is nothing but dry and desert Sands, or unpassable Bogs, or Scythian Cold, or a frozen Sea : so in this Work of mine, wherein I have compared the

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the Lives of the greatest Men with one another, having run through that time whereunto probable reason could reach, and through which the truth of History could pass, I may very well say of those that are farther off; All beyond is nothing but monstrous and tragical Fictions: there the Poets and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there any further to be expected ought deserving of Credit, or that carries any appearance of Truth. Yet having published an Account of *Lycurgus*, the Law-giver, and *Numa*, the King, methought I might not without reason, ascend as high as to *Romulus*, being brought by my History so near to his time. Considering therefore with my self

*Whom with so great a man shall I compare?
Or whom oppose? who can the tryal bear?*

(as *Aeschilus* expresses it) I found none so fit as him that peopled the most celebrated City of *Athena*: to be set in opposition with the Father of the invincible and renowned City of *Roma*. And here it were to be wish't, that this Account cou'd be so purg'd by right reason from the fabulous part, as to obey the Laws, and receive the character of an exact History. But wherever it shall chance too boldly to contempn the bounds of credibility,

credibility, and will endure no mixture of what is probable, we shall beg that we may meet with candid Readers, and such as will favourably receive what can be related concerning things of so great Antiquity.

Now *Theseus* seems to resemble *Romulus*<sup>The com-
parison be-
tween Theseus and
Romulus.</sup> in many particulars. Both of 'em born out of Wedlock and of uncertain Parentage had the repute of being sprung from the Gods.

Both Warriours ; that by all the world's allow'd. Homer.

Both of them had joyn'd with strength of Body an equal vigour of Mind ; and of the two most famous Cities of the World, the one built *Rome*, and the other made *Athens* be inhabited. Both were famous for the Rape of Women ; neither of them cou'd avoid domestick misfortunes, nor the envy of their Country-men ; but both are said to have died by the hands of their own offended Citizens, if we will believe there is any truth in relations that are delivered with the least appearance of strange or Poetical Fictions.

The Lineage of *Theseus* by his Father's side ascends as high as to *Erechtheus* and the * first Inhabitants of Attica. By his Mother's side he was descended of *Pelops* : For *Pelops* was the most powerful of all the Kings of *Peloponnesus*, not so much for the greatness of his Riches, as the multitude of his

Family
of Theseus.

* *Autóx-
boves.*

his Children ; having match't many Daughters to Persons of the greatest Quality, and made many Sons Governours of Provinces round about him. One whereof nam'd *Pitheus*, Grandfather to *Theseus*, was Founder of the small City of the *Træzenians*, and had the repute of a man of the greatest knowledge and wisdom in his time : Which then it seems consisted chiefly in such grave Sentences as the Poet *Hesiod* got his great esteem by in his Book of *Works and Days*. And even among them is one that they ascribe to *Pitheus*,

Mεδὸς δὲ ἀρδεὶ φίλω εἰρημένος ἀρκεῖται.

Let a Friend's services meet full reward.

Which also *Aristotle* Witnesses, and *Euripides* when he calls *Hippolytus* Scholar of the sacred *Pitheus*, shews the opinion that the World had of that great man. About this time *Aegeus*, being desirous of Children, and consulting the Oracle of *Delphos*, receiv'd that so celebrated answer which forbade him the use of any Woman before his return to *Athens*. But the Oracle being so obscure as not to satisfie him that he was clearly forbid this, he went to *Træzene* and communicated to *Pitheus* the Voice of the God, which was in this manner,

'Ασκεῖ

Ἄσκε τὸ πρόχοντα πόδα, μέχα φίρετε λαῶν
Μὴ λύσῃς πειν δῆμον Ἀθηνῶν εὐφρίνεσθ.

*I warn thee, Warriour, not to broach
Thy Goatskin full of generous Juice :
Nor footlong Spigot to produce,
Till thou to Athens shalt approach.*

Pitheus therefore taking advantage from the obscurity of the Oracle, prevail'd upon him; it is uncertain whether by perswasion or deceit, to lie with his Daughter *Aethra*.

Aegeus afterwards knowing her whom he had lain with to be *Pitheus's Daughter*, and suspecting her to be with Child by him, he left a Sword and a pair of Shoes, hiding them under a great Stone that had a hollowness exactly fitting them, making her only privy to it, and commanding her, that if she brought forth a Son, who when he came to Man's estate, shou'd be able to lift up the Stone and take away what he had left there, she shou'd send him away to him with those things with all secrecy, enjoining him as much as possible to conceal his Journey from all men: For he fear'd extreamly the *Pallantidae*, who were continually mutinying against him, and despis'd him for his want of Children, they themselves being fifty Brothers all of the Sons of *Pallas*.

When *Aethra* was deliver'd of a Son, some report that he was immediately nam'd

Theseus,

Theseus, from the Tokens which his Father had put under the Stone: But others say, that he receiv'd his name afterwards at *Athens*, when *Ægeus* acknowledg'd him for his Son. He was brought up under his Grand-father *Pitheus*, and had by him a Governor and Tutor set over him, nam'd *Connidas*, to whom the *Athenians* even to this time, the day before the Feast that is dedicated to *Theseus*, Sacrifice a Ram, giving this honour to his memory upon a much juster account than that which they gave to *Silanio* and *Parrhasius*, for having only made Pictures and Statues of *Theseus*. There being then a Custom for the *Grecian* Youth upon their first coming to Man's Estate to go to *Delphos* and offer First-Fruits of their Hair to the God of the place, *Theseus* also went thither, and they say that the place to this day is yet nam'd *Thesea* from him. But he shav'd only the fore-part of his head, as *Homer* reports to be the Custom of the *Abantes*. And this sort of Tonsure was from him nam'd *Theseis*. But the *Abantes* first us'd this sort of shaving, not having learnt it from the *Arabians*, as some imagin, nor in imitation of the *Mysians*, but, being a War-like People, and us'd to close fighting, and above all other Nations accustom'd chiefly to engage hand to hand; as *Archilocus* witnesses in these Verses,

*Dicōs signi-
fies a put-
ting any
thing, nō
siḡnifies
to adopt or
acknow-
ledge one
for his Son.
The Edu-
cation of
Theseus.*

Οὔτοι πολλά' ὅπλα τόξα τανύαεται, καὶ τε δαμεται
 Σφενδόναται, εὖ τὸν δὲ μῶλον Ἀρης σιωπήγη
 Φεν πεδίῳ ξιφέων δὲ πολύσορον καρέταις ἔργον
 Ταύτης γὰρ καῖνοι δαίνουσες εἰς μάχης
 Δεσπότα Εὐβοίας δεκίκλιτοι.

*Slings they despise, and scorn to send from far
 The flying Dart, and wage a distant War;
 But hand to hand the trusty Swords they weild,
 Do all the dreadful busines of the Field.
 This is the way of fight th' Eubœans know,
 Nor Bow nor Sling they trust, but strike them-
 selves the blow.*

Therefore that they might not give their Enemies that advantage of seising them by the Hair, they were shav'd in this manner. They write also, that this was the reason why *Alexander* gave command to his Captains, that all the Beards of his Macedonians shou'd be shav'd, as being the readiest hold for an Enemy.

Æthra for some time conceal'd the true Parentage of *Theseus*; and there was a report given out by *Pittheus*, that he was begotten by *Neptune*: for the *Træzenians* have *Neptune* in the highest veneration. He is their Tutelar God, to him they offer all their First-Fruits, and in his Honour stamp't their Money with a Trident.

Theseus in his youth discovering not only a great strength of Body, but an equal force of Mind and firmness of Under-

ing, his Mother *Aethra*, conducting him to the Stone, and informing him who was his true Father, commanded him to take from thence the Tokens that *Aegeus* had left, and to sail to *Athens*. He, without any difficulty, lifted up the Stone, and took 'em from thence; but refused to take his Journey by Sea, though it was much the safer way, and though he was continually prest to it by the intreaties of his Grandfather and Mother. For it was at that time very dangerous to go by Land to *Athens*, no place of the Country being free from Thieves and Murtherers: for that Age produc'd a sort of Men, for strength of Arms, and swiftness of Feet, and vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary rate of men; and in labours and exercise indefatigable: yet making use of these gifts of Nature to nothing either good or profitable to Mankind, but rejoicing and taking pride in intolence, and pleasing themselves in the enjoyment of their inhumanity and cruelty, and in seising, forcing and committing all manner of outrages upon every thing that fell into their hands: who thought civility, and justice, and equity, and humanity, which many prais'd, either out of want of courage to commit injuries, or fear to receive 'em; nothing at all to concern those who were the most daring and most strong. Some of these *Hercules* destroy'd and

cut

cut off in his passing through these Countries, but some who escap'd him, for fear fled and hid themselves, or were spar'd by him in contempt of their abject submission: but after that *Hercules* fell into misfortune, and having slain *Iphitus*, retir'd to *Lydia*, and for a long time was there Slave to *Omphale*, a punishment which he had impos'd upon himself for the murther; then indeed the Lydian affairs enjoyed all peace and security, but in *Greece* and the Countries about it, the like Villanies were again reviv'd and broke out, there being none to repress or chastise their insolence. It was therefore a very hazardous Journey to travel by Land from *Athens* to *Peloponnesus*: and *Pitheus*, giving him an exact account of each of these Thieves and Villains, of what strength they were, and with what cruelty they us'd all strangers, perswaded *Theseus* to go by Sea; but he, it seems, had long since been secretly fir'd with the glory of *Hercules*, and had him in the highest estimation, and was never more satisfy'd than in hearing those that gave an account of him; especially those that had seen him, or had been present at any Action or Saying of his that was remarkable. Insomuch that he was altogether in the same condition that in after-ages *Themistocles* was, when he said that the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not suffer him to sleep: so he

His relation to Hercules.

having in such admiration the vertue of *Hercules*; in the Night his Dreams were all of that Heroes Actions, and in the day a continual emulation stir'd him up to perform the like. Besides, they were nearly related, being born of Cousin Germains. For *Aethra* was the Daughter of *Pitheus*, and *Alcmena* of *Lycidice*, and *Lycidice* and *Pitheus*, Brothers and Sisters by *Hippodamia*. He thought it therefore a dishonourable thing and not to be endur'd, that *Hercules* shou'd every where purge both the Land and Sea from those wicked Men, and that he himself shou'd flie from the like Adventures, that so fairly offer'd themselves to him; disgracing his reputed Father by a mean flight by Sea, and not shewing his True one as manifest a Character of the greatness of his Birth by noble and worthy Actions, as by the tokens that he brought with him, the Shoes and the Sword.

He slew Periphetes.

With this mind and these thoughts he set forward, with a design to do injury to no body, but to repel and revenge himself of all those that shou'd offer any. And first of all, in a set Combate, he slew *Periphetes* in *Epidauria*, who us'd a Club for his Arms, and from thence had his name of *Corynetes*, or the *Club-bearer*, who seis'd upon him, and forbade him to go forward in his Journey. Being pleas'd with the Club, he took it, and made it his Weapon, having the same use of it

it as *Hercules* had of the Lyon's Skin; for that he wore as evidence of what a prodigious greatness the Monster was that He flew, and to the same end *Theseus* carry'd about him this Club; overcome indeed by him, but now, in his Hand, invincible.

Passing on further towards the Isthmus of ^{He kills} Sinais. *Peloponnesus* he flew *Sinnis*, that, from the way of murther he us'd, was surnam'd the * *bender of Pines*, after the same manner ^{* Πιλυρ-} _{παπλην.} that he himself had destroy'd many others before. And this he did, not having either practis'd or ever learnt the art of bending these Trees, to shew that natural strength is above all art. This *Sinnis* had a Daughter of most excellent beauty and more than ordinary stature, call'd *Perigune*, who, when her Father was kill'd, fled, and was sought after with all diligence by *Theseus*; but she, flying into a place overgrown with many Shrubs and Ruihes and wild *Asparagus*, innocently made her complaint to them, as if they cou'd have a sense of her misfortune, and begg'd 'em to shelter her, with vows that if she escap'd she wou'd never cut 'em down or burn 'em: but *Theseus* calling upon her, and giving her his promise, that he wou'd use her with all respect, and offer her no injury, she came forth; and being enjoy'd by *Theseus*, bore a Son to him nam'd *Menalippus*; but afterwards she was Married to ^{He begets} _{Menalippus of Perigune the Daughter of Sinnis.}

Deioneus the Son of Euritus, the Oechalian, Theseus himself giving her to him. And Ioxus, the Son of this Menalippus, who was born to Theseus, accompany'd Ornytus in the Colony that he carried with him into *Caria*, from whom the People call'd *Ioxides*, have their name; who have this custom deriv'd down to 'em from their Fathers, never to burn either Shrubs or Rushes, or wild *Asparagus*, but to honour and worship 'em.

Slays the Cromyonian Sow

About this time the *Cromyonian Sow*, which they call'd *Phœa*, was a Beast not to be past by or despis'd, being of great fierceness and very hard to be overcome, her Theseus kill'd, going out of his way to meet and engage her, that he might not seem to perform all his great Exploits out of mere necessity; being also of opinion, that it was the part of a brave Man, not only to chastise villainous and wicked Men, but also to fight and expose himself to the fury of the most fierce and hurtful Monsters and wild Beasts. Others relate that this *Phœa* was a Woman, a Robber full of cruelty and lust, that liv'd in *Cromyon*, and had the name of Sow given her from the beastliness of her life and conversation, and that afterwards she was kill'd

Kills Sciron

by Theseus. He slew also *Sciron*, upon the borders of *Megara*, casting him down from the Rocks, being, as most report, a notorious Robber of all Passengers; and, as others say,

say, accustom'd out of insolence and wantonness to stretch forth his Feet to strangers, commanding them to wash' em, and then with a kick to thrust them down the Rock into the Sea: but the Writers of *Megara*, in contradiction to the receiv'd report, and, as *Simonides* expresses it, *Fighting with all antiquity*, contend, that *Sciron* was neither a Robber nor Committer of Injuries and Affronts, but a punisher of all such, and full of all humanity and friendship to good and just men; that *Æacus* was ever esteemed a man of the greatest sanctity of all the Greeks and that *Cycreus* the Salaminian, was honoured at *Athens* with divine worship, and that the vertue of *Peleus* and *Telamon* were not unknown to any one; and that *Sciron* was Son-in-law to *Cycreus*, and Father in-law to *Æacus*, and Grandfather to *Peleus* and *Telamon*, who were both of 'em Sons of *Eridensis* the Daughter of *Sciron*, and *Carichlo*: that therefore it was not probable, that the best should make these Alliances with the worst of Men, giving and receiving mutually what was of greatest value and most dear to 'em: but they relate that *Theseus* did not slay *Sciron* in his first Journey to *Athens*, but afterwards, when he took *Eleusis*, a City of the Megarians, having circumvented *Dio-cles* the Governour, whom, together with *Sciron*, he there slew. These are the con-

traditions which are between the Writers
of this story. In *Eleusis* he kill'd *Cercyon*
Kills Cercyon, the Arcadian, in a wrestling Match. And
going on a little further, in the City *Hermione*, he slew *Damastes*, otherwise call'd
and Procrustes. *Procrustes*, by force making him even to his
own Beds, as he himself was us'd to do with
all strangers; this he did in imitation of *Her-*
cules. For he, returning always to the Com-
mitters of these Outrages the same sort of
violence that they offer'd to others, Sacri-
fic'd *Busyris*, wrestled with *Antæus*, fought
with *Cynus* hand to hand, and kill'd *Ter-*
merus by breaking his Skull in pieces, (from
whence they say comes the Proverb of *A*
Termerian Mischief) for it seems *Termerus*
kill'd Passengers that he met, by running,
with all his force, his Head against theirs.
Thus proceeded *Theseus* in the punishment
of evil men, who underwent the same tor-
ments from him, which they had inflicted
upon others; justly suffering after the man-
ner of their own injustice.

As he went forward on his Journey, and
was come as far as the River *Cephisus*, some
of the race of the *Phytalidæ* met him and sa-
luted him, and upon his desire to use the
Purifications, then in Custom, they per-
form'd them with all the usual Ceremonies,
and having offer'd propitiatory Sacrifices to
the Gods, they invited him and entertain'd
him

him at their House, who before in all his Journey had not met the like Civility.

On the eighth day of June, which was then call'd *Cronius*, he arriv'd at *Athens*, where Arrives at Athens. he found the publick affairs full of all confusion, and divided into Parties and Factions, *Ægeus* also and his whole private Family labouring under the same distemper; for *Medea*, having fled from *Corinth*, and promis'd *Ægeus* to make him, by her Art, capable of having Children, was entertain'd by him, and admitted to his Bed; she had the first knowledge of *Theseus*, whom as yet *Ægeus* did not know, and he being in years, full of Jealousies and suspicions, and fearing every thing by reason of the Faction that was then in the City, she easily perswaded him to poison *Theseus* at a Banquet to be prepar'd for him as a civility to a Stranger. He coming to the Entertainment, thought it not fit to discover himself first, but being willing to give his Father the occasion of first finding him out; the meat being on the Table he drew his Sword as if he design'd to cut with it. *Ægeus* upon the sudden, perceiving the Token, threw down the Cup of Poison, and discovering his Son, embrac'd him, and having gather'd together all his Citizens, he own'd him publickly before them, who receiv'd him with great satisfaction for the fame of his Greatness and

He is discovered to his Father.

Bravery:

Bravery: and 'tis said, that when the Cup fell, the poison was spilt there where now is the enclosure in the Delphinian Temple, for in that place stood *Ægeus's* House, and the Statue of *Mercury* on the East-side of the Temple is call'd the *Mercury of Ægeus* his Gate.

The Pallantidæ Rebel. Now the Sons of *Pallas*, who before were quiet, upon hopes and expectation of recovering the Kingdom, at least after *Ægeus's* Death, who was without Issue, as soon as *Theseus* appear'd, and was acknowledg'd the Successour to the Crown, highly resenting, that *Ægeus* first, an adopted Son only of *Pandion*, and not at all related to the Family of *Eretheus*, shou'd obtain the Kingdom, and that after *Theseus*, one of another Country again, and a stranger, shou'd obtain the Crown, broke out into an open War. And dividing themselves into two Companies, one part of them march'd openly from *Sphæta* with their Father against the City, the other, hiding themselves in the Village of *Gargettus*, lay in ambush with a design to set upon the Enemy on both sides: They had with them a Cryer of the Town of *Agnus*, nam'd *Leo*, who discover'd to *Theseus* all the designs of the *Pallantidæ*: *They are overcome and dispers'd by Theseus.* He immediately fell upon them that lay in Ambuscade, and cut 'em all off; which *Pallas* and his Company hearing, fled and were dispersed.

From

From hence they say is deriv'd the custom among the Palleneans, to have no Marriages, or any Alliance with the people of *Agnus*, nor to suffer their Cryers to pronounce in their Proclamations these words, solemnly us'd in all other parts of the Country, *Ἄκητε Λέων*, (Hear ye People) so great is their hatred to the very name of *Leo* for the foulness of his Treason.

Now *Theseus*, longing to be in action, and withal desirous to make himself popular, left *Athens* to fight with the Bull of *Marathon*; which did no small mischief to the Inhabitants of *Tetrapolis*. And having overcome it, he brought it alive in triumph through the City, and afterwards sacrific'd it to *Apollo*. And as to what concerns *Hecale*, and the story of her receiving and entertaining *Theseus* in this Expedition, it seems to be not altogether void of truth; for from hence the people round about, meeting upon a certain day, offer'd a Sacrifice, which they call'd *Hecalestium*, to *Jupiter Hecalion*, in honour of *Hecale*, whom, by a diminutive name, they call'd *Hecalene*, because she, as the custom of ancient people is, shew'd her affection to *Theseus* by such diminutive names: and having made a vow to *Jupiter* for him as he was going to the fight, that if he return'd in safety, she wou'd offer Sacrifices in thanks of it, and dying before

*He takes
the Bull of
Marathon
alive.*

before he came back, she receiv'd this return of her hospitality by the command of *Theseus*, as *Philocorus* relates the story.

*The mur-
ther of An-
drogeus.*

Not long after arriv'd the third time from *Crete* the Collectors of the Tribute which the *Athenians* paid 'em upon the following occasion. *Androgeus* having been treacherously murther'd about the Confines of *Attica*, not only *Minos* put the *Athenians* to extream inconveniences by a perpetual War, but the Gods also laid waste their Country; for both Famine and Pestilence lay heavy upon 'em, and even their Rivers were dried up. But being told by the Oracle, that if they appeas'd and reconcil'd *Minos*, the anger of the Gods wou'd cease, and they shou'd enjoy rest from the miseries they labour'd under; they sent Ambassadors, and, with much supplication, were at last reconcil'd, having entred into an agreement to send to *Crete* the space of nine years a Tribute of seven young Men, and as many Virgins, as the general Writers agree; and the most tragical story that goes about concerning this matter, says, that the *Mino*
taure destroy'd them, or that they wandering in the Labyrinth, and finding no possible means of getting out, miserably ended their lives there. And that this *Mino*
taure was (as *Enripldes* hath it)

*A mingled form, where two strange shapes
combin'd ;
And different Natures, Bull and Man were
join'd.*

But *Philocorus* writes, that the Cretans will by no means allow the truth of this, but say, that the Labyrinth was only an ordinary Prison, having no other ill in it, than that it secur'd the Prisoners from escaping, and that *Minos*, having instituted Games in honour of *Androgeus*, gave as a reward to the Victors those that till that time had been Prisoners in the Labyrinth. And that the first that overcame in those Games, was one of the greatest power and command among 'em, nam'd *Taurus*, a Man of no merciful or sweet disposition, but that carried himself towards the Athenians, that were made his prize, in a most proud and insolent manner; and even *Aristotle* himself, in the account that he gives of the Government of the Bottieans, is manifestly of an opinion, that these youth were not slain by *Minos*, but that they spent the remainder of their days in slavery at Crete; and that the Cretans, to ^{The Cretans Offering to Apollo.} acquit themselves of an ancient Vow which they had made, were us'd to send an Offering of the first Fruits of their Men to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, and that some descendants of these Athenian Slaves were mingled

mingled with 'em and sent amongst 'em ; and of these they that were not able to get their living there, remov'd from thence, first into *Italy*, and inhabited the Country round about *Japygia* ; from thence again, that they remov'd to *Thrace*, and were nam'd *Bottieans*, and that this is the reason why in a certain Sacrifice, the Bottiean Women sing a Hymn, beginning thus, *Let us go to Athens*. And from this that it appear'd how dangerous it was to incur the hatred of a City that was Mistress of Eloquence and a Muse. For *Minos* was always ill spoken of, and represented ever as a very ill man upon the Athenian Stages, neither did *Hesiod* at all help him when he calls him *The most Royal Minos*, nor *Homer* when he styles him, *The Companion of Jupiter*. But the Tragedians prevailing made him always appear from the Stage as a cruel and inhumane Prince. But that really *Minos* was a very good King and Law-giver, and that *Rhadamanthus* was a Judge under him and a Preserver of the Statutes that he ordain'd.

Now when the time of the third Tribute was come, and that the Fathers, who had any young men for their Sons, were to proceed by lot to the choice of those that were to be sent ; there arose fresh discontents and accusations against *Ægeus* among the People, who were full of grief and indignation, that

that he, who was the cause of all their miseries, was the only person exempt from the punishment; but settling his Kingdom upon a Bastard and a Foreign Son, took no notice of them whom he left destitute and without Children. These things very sensibly affected *Theseus*, who thinking it but just not to avoid, but rather partake of, the sufferings of his fellow Citizens, offer'd himself for one without any lot; all the rest admiring him for the greatness of his Spirit, and loving him for his care of the publick: and *Aegeus*, after all his Prayer and intreaty, finding him inflexible and not to be perswaded, proceeded to the choosing of the rest by lot. But *Helanicus* writes, that the Athenians did not send the young Men and Virgins as they were chosen by lot, but that *Minos* himself coming thither made his own choice, and that he pitch'd upon *Theseus* before all others, upon conditions agreed between 'em, that the Athenians shou'd furnish 'em with a Ship, and that the young Men that were to sail with him, shou'd carry no Weapon of War; but that if the *Minotaure* was destroy'd, this Tribute shou'd cease.

The two former times of the payment of the Tribute, there appearing no hopes of safety or return, they sent forth the Ship with a black Sail, as to unavoidable destruction:

Theseus offers himself voluntarily to be sent to Crete.

ction : but now *Theseus* encouraging his Father, and speaking greatly of himself, as confident that he shou'd kill the *Minotaure*, he gave the Pilot another Sail which was White, commanding him as he return'd, if *Theseus* escap'd, to make use of that, but if not, to sail with the black one, and to hang out that sign of his misfortune and sorrow. But *Simonides* says, that the Sail which *Aegeus* deliver'd to the Pilot, was not White, but Purple dy'd in Grain, with the Flower of a certain Tree, commanding him to hang out this as a sign of their escape.

*Πλεύδες,
Ilicis.*

Amarysadas Phereclus, as *Simonides* writes, was Pilot of the Ship. But *Philochorus* says, that *Theseus* had a Pilot sent him by *Scirus*, from *Salamis*, nam'd *Nausitheus*, and another Sailor, nam'd *Phæax*, they as yet not applying themselves to Navigation; and that *Scirus* did this, because one of the young men, *Meneistes*, was his Nephew, and this the Monuments of *Nausitheus* and *Phæax*, built by *Theseus* near the Temple of *Sciron*, witness. He adds also, that the Feast nam'd *Cybernesia*, was instituted in their honour.

The lot being cast, and *Theseus* having receiv'd out of the *Prytonæum* those upon whom it fell, he went to the Delphinean Temple, and made an Offering to *Apollo* for their safe return, which was a Bough of a consecrated Olive-Tree bound about with white Wooll.

*His Offer-
ing at the
Delphinian
Temple.*

Having

Having thus perform'd his Devotion, he went to Sea, the sixth day of *March*, on which day even 'till this time the Athenians send their Virgins to the same Temple to make supplication to the Gods. It is farther reported that he was commanded by the Oracle at *Delphos* to make *Venus* his guide, and to invoke her as the Companion and Conductress of his Voyage, to whom as he was sacrificing a She Goat by the Sea side, it was suddenly chang'd into a He, and for this cause that Goddess had the name of

* *Epitragia*.

* Τεργιστας
signifying a
Goat. ¶
His arrival
at Crete,
and Adven-
turesthere.

When he arriv'd at *Crete*, as most of the ancient Historians as well as Poets write, having a Clew of thred given him by *Ariadne*, who had falm in love with him, and being instructed by her the use of it, which was to conduct him through all the windings of the Labyrinth, he escap'd out of it, and slew the *Minotaure*, and sail'd back, taking along with him *Ariadne*, and the young Athenian Captives. *Pherecydes* adds, that he bored holes in the Keels of the Cretan Ships to hinder their pursuit. And *Demons* writes, that *Taurus* the Chief Captain of *Minos*, was slain in a Naval Combat by *Theseus* in the mouth of the Haven, immediately before he set sail for *Athens*. But *Philochorus* gives us the Story thus. That at the setting forth of the yearly Game by

*Taurus en-
vied by the
Cretans.* King *Minos, Taurus*, who they thought would certainly bear away the prize from all as he had done before, laboured under the envy of all *Crete*. For his power grew grievous and insupportable by reason of the insolence of his manners, and besides, he had been accus'd of too near a familiarity with *Pasiphae* the Queen: Which was the reason, that when *Theseus* desir'd the Combat, *Minos* so easily comply'd. And as it was a Custom in *Crete*, that the Ladies also should be admitted to the sight of these Games,

*Ariadne in
love with
Theseus.* *Ariane*, being present, was strangely surpris'd at the manly beauty of *Theseus*, and struck with admiration with the vigour and address which he shew'd in the Combat, overcoming all that encountr'd with him. *Minos* too being extreamly pleas'd with him, especially because he had engag'd and overthrown *Taurus*, voluntarily gave up the young Captives to *Theseus*, and remitted the Tribute to the Athenians. But *Clidemus* gives an account of these things peculiar to himself, very prolix, and beginning a great way off. That it was a Decree consented to, by all *Greece*, that no Vessel from any place, containing above five persons, should be permitted to Sail, *Jason* only excepted, who was made Captain of the great Ship *Argo*, to sail about and scour the Sea of Pyrates. But *Dædalus*, having escap'd from

Crete,

Crete, and flying by Sea to *Athens*, and *Mino*s, contrary to this Decree, pursuing him with his great Ships, was forc'd by a storm upon *Sicily*, and there ended his Life. After his decease, *Déucalion* his Son, Desiring a Deucali-
on's Mes-
sage to An-
commanding that they should deliver up *Dædalus* to him, threatening, upon their refusal, to put to death all the young Athenians which his Father had receiv'd as Hostages from the City. To this angry Message *Theseus* return'd a very gentle and *Theseus's*
Answer.
mild Answer, excusing himself, that he could not deliver up *Dædalus*, who was so nearly related to him, being his Cousin *Germain*; for his Mother was *Merope*, the Daughter of *Eretheus*. In the mean while *He firs out a Navy*. he secretly prepar'd a Navy, part of it at home near the Village of the *Thymætades*, being a place of no resort, and far from any common Roads, the other part by his Grandfather *Pitheus*'s Permission, he caus'd to be built and fitted out at *Træzene*, that so his design might be carried on with the greatest secrecy. As soon as ever his Fleet was in readiness he set Sail, and none of the Cretans, having any knowledge of his coming, but imagining, when they saw his Fleet, that they were Friends and Vessels of their own, he soon made himself Master of the Haven, and immediately making a de-

*The Surprise
of Cnossus.*

scent farther into the Island, and having with him *Dedalus*, and the other Fugitives for his Guides, he arriv'd at *Cnossus*, the City of the King's Residence, before any notice of his coming before the Gates of the Labyrinth, and in a short Skirmish put *Deucalion* and all his Guards to the Sword. The Government by this means falling to *Ariadne*, he made a League with her, and receiv'd the Captives of her, and ratify'd a perpetual Friendship between the Athenians and the Cretans, whom he engag'd under an Oath never again to make War with *Athens*.

There are yet many other reports about these things, and as many concerning *Ariadne*, but none of any certainty or truth. For some relate, that she hang'd her self being deserted by *Theseus*. Others, that she was carry'd away by his Sailors to the Isle of *Naxos*, and Married to *Onarus*, one of the Priests of *Bacchus*, and that *Theseus* left her, because he fell in love with another,

Δεινὸς γό μν ἐτείρευ ἔρως Πανομίδης Αἰγαλίου.

For Ægle's love had pierc'd his Manly Breast.

For this Verse, as *Hereas* the Megarian witnesseth, was formerly in the Poet *Hesiod*'s Works, but put out by *Pisistratus*, in like manner as he added this other in *Homer*'s description

description of Hell, to gratifie the Athenians,

Θονία, Περιθόου τε Θεῶν δευτερεία τέκνα.

Theseus, Perithous, both Sons of Gods.

Others report, that *Ariadne* had two Sons by *Theseus*, *Oenopion* and *Staphilus*, and among these is the Poet *Ion*, of *Chios*, who writes thus of his own Native City,

Τλω μῆς Θονίδης ἐκτίστη Οίνοπιαν.

Built by Oenopion the great Theseus's Son.

But all that the Poets have sung of these matters, or that Fables have made more famous than ordinary, every body (as I may say) hath it in his mouth. But *Pæon* the Amathusian, has set forth a different relation of these things that has somewhat peculiar in it. For he writes, that *Theseus* being driven by a Storm upon the Isle of *Cypros*, and having aboard with him *Ariadne*, big with Child, and extreamly discompos'd with the rowling of the Sea, set her on Shore, and left her there alone in that weak condition, to return to and help the Ship, where, on a sudden, by a violent Wind, he was again forc'd out to Sea. That the Women of the Island receiv'd *Ariadne* very kindly, and administred all manner of

Ariadne
left in Cy-
pros.

comfort to her, that was extreamly afflicted and almost dead with grief for being left behind. That they counterfeited kind Letters, and deliver'd them to her, as sent from *Theseus*, and, when she fell in Labour, were very diligent in performing to her all the offices that belong to Women. But that *Her death.* she dy'd in Child-Bed before she could be deliver'd, and was by them honourably interr'd. That soon after *Theseus* return'd, and was greatly afflicted for her loss, and at his departure left a considerable sum of money among those of the Island, ordering them to Sacrifice and pay divine honour to *Ariadne*; and caused two little Images to be made and dedicated to her, one of Silver and the other of Brass. Moreover, that on the second day of *September*, which is sacred to *Ariadne*, they have this Ceremony among their Sacrifices, to have a youth lie in, and with his voice and gesture counterfeit all the pains of a Woman in Travail; and that the Amathusians call the Grove in which they shew her Tomb, the Grove of *Venus Ariadne*.

Different yet from this account some of the Naxians write, that there were two *Minos's* and two *Ariadne's*, one of which, they say, was Married to *Bacchus*, in the Isle of *Naxos*, and bore a Son nam'd *Staphylus*. But that the other, of a later Age, was

was ravished by *Theseus*, and being afterwards deserted by him, retir'd to *Naxos*, with her Nurse *Corcyna*, whose Grave they yet shew. That this *Ariadne* also dy'd there, and was worship'd by the Island, but in a different manner from the former; for her day is Celebrated with Feasts and Revels, and an universal Joy: but all the Sacrifices perform'd to the latter, are mingled with sorrow and mourning.

Now *Theseus*, in his return from *Crete*, put in at *Delos*, and having sacrific'd to the God of the Island, and dedicated to the Temple the Image of *Venus*, which *Ariadne* had given him, he danc'd with the young Athenians a Dance, that, in memory of him, is still preserv'd among the Inhabitants of *Delos*, which in a certain order had turnings and returnings, that imitated the intricate windings of the Labyrinth. And this Dance, as *Dicæarchus* writes, is call'd among the Delians, the Crane. This he danc'd round the Ceratonian Altar, so call'd from its being compacted together, and adorn'd only with Horns taken from the left side of the Head. They say also, that he instituted Games in *Delos*, where he was the first that began the Custom of giving a Palm to the Victors.

When they were come near the Coast of Attica, so great was the joy for the happy

His and his Pilots success of their Voyage, that, neither *Theseus* himself, nor the Pilot, remembred to hang out the Sail which should have been the token of their safety to *Aegeus*, who, knowing nothing of their success, for grief threw himself headlong from a Rock, and perish'd in the Sea. But *Theseus* being arriv'd at the Port of *Phalera*, paid there the Sacrifices which he had vow'd to the Gods at his setting out to Sea, and sent a Herald to the City to carry the news of his safe return. At his entrance into the City the Herald found the People for the most part full of grief for the loss of their King, others, as may be well believ'd, as full of joy for the Message that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him with Garlands for so acceptable news; which he indeed accepted of, but hung them upon his Heralds Staff; and thus returning to the Sea-side before *Theseus* had finish'd his libation to the Gods, he stay'd without, for fear of disturbing the Holy Rites; but as soon as the Sacrifice was ended, he entred and related the whole story of the King's Death: upon the hearing of which, with great lamentations, and a confused tumult of grief, they ran with all haste to the City. And from hence, they say, it comes that at this day, in the Feast *Oscophoria* the Herald is not Crown'd, but his Staff,

Staff, and that the People then present still break out at the Sacrifice into this shout, ἐλελεῦ, ιἰ, ιἰ, (*eleleu, iou, iou*) of which confus'd sounds the first was wont to be used by Men in haste, or at a Triumph, the other is proper to those that are in great consternation or trouble.

Theseus, after the Funeral of his Father, paid his Vows to *Apollo* the seventh day of *October*; for on that day the Youth that return'd with him safe from *Crete*, made their entry into the City. They say also, that the Custom of boyling Pulse at this Feast is deriv'd from hence, because the young men that escap'd, put all that was left of their Provision together, and boiling it in one common Pot feasted themselves with it, and with great rejoicing did eat all together. Hence also they carry about an Olive-branch bound about with Wooll (such as they then made use of in their supplications) which they call *Eiresone*, Crown'd with all sorts of Fruits, to signifie that scarcity and barrenness was ceas'd; singing in their Procession this Song,

Εἰρεσόνη σύκα φέρειν καὶ πίνας ἀρτες
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον αὐαψίους
Καὶ πώλικ' εὐζωγον ὡς ἀν πεδίους καθευδης.

*Eiresone Figs produce,
And wholsome Bread and cheerful Oil,*

And

And Honey, labouring Bees sweet toil,
But above all Wines noble juice,
Then Cares thou in the Cup shalt sleep,
And full of joy receive soft sleep.

Theseus
bis Ship.

Although some hold Opinion, that this Ceremony is retain'd in memory of the *Heraclideæ*, who were thus entertain'd and brought up by the *Athenians*. But most are of the opinion which we have above deliver'd. The Ship wherein *Theseus* and the Youth of *Athens* return'd, had thirty Oars, and was preserv'd by the *Athenians*, down even to the time of *Demetrius Phalareus*, for they took away the old Planks as they decay'd, putting in new and stronger Timber in their place, insomuch that this Ship became a standing Example among the Philosophers, when-ever they disputed about things that encrease, one side holding, That the Ship remain'd the same, and the other as fiercely contending that it was not the same.

The Feast call'd *Oscophoria*, or the Feast of *Boughs*, which to this day the *Athenians* Celebrate, was then first instituted by *Theseus*. For he took not with him the full number of Virgins, which by lot were to be carri'd away, but selected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and Womanish Faces, but of a manly and

and forward spirit, and having by frequent Baths, and avoiding the heat and scorching of the Sun, with a constant use of all the Ointments, and Washes, and Dresses, that serve to the adorning of the Head, or smoothing the Skin, or improving the Complexion, in a manner chang'd them from what they were before, and having taught them further to counterfeit the very voice, and carriage, and gate of Virgins, so that there could not be the least difference perceiv'd, he undiscover'd by any, put them into the number of the *Athenian Maids* design'd for *Crete*. At his return he and these two Youths led up a solemn Procession, with Boughs and Vine-branches in their hands, and in the same habit that is now worn at the celebration of the Feast of *Boughs*. These Branches they carry'd in honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, for the sake of their Story before related; or rather because they happen'd to return in Autumn, the time of gathering the Grapes. The Women whom they call *Deipnophoræ*, or Supper-Carriers, are taken into these Ceremonies, and assist at the Sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins upon whom the lot fell, for thus busily did they run about, bringing Banquets and Refreshments to their Children, and because the good Women

men then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the danger they were going upon, it has still continu'd a Custom, that at this Feast, old Fables and Tales should be the chief Discourse. And for all these Particularities we are beholden to the History of *Demosthenes*. There was then a Place chose out, and a Temple erected in it to *Theseus*, and those Families out of whom the Tribute of the Youth was gather'd, were obliged to pay a Tax to the Temple for Sacrifices to him. And the House of the *Phytalidae*, had the overseeing of these Sacrifices, *Theseus* doing them that Honour in recompence of their former Hospitality.

Now after the death of his Father *Aegeus*, *Persuades us*, framing in his mind a great and wonderful design, he gather'd together all the Inhabitants of Attica into one Town, and made them one People of one City, that were before dispers'd, and very difficult to be assembled upon any Affair, tho' relating to the common benefit of them all. Nay, often such Differences and Quarrels happen'd between them, as occasion'd Blood-shed and War; these he by his Perswasions appeas'd, and going from People to People, and from Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his design of a common agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean condition

condition readily embracing so good advice, to those of greater Power and Interest he promis'd a Commonwealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aside, the power should be in the People, and that, reserving to himself only to be continued the Commander of their Arms, and the Preserver of their Laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else between them, and by this means brought them over to his Proposal. The rest fearing his Power, which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his courage and resolution, chose rather to be perswaded than forc'd into a Compliance. He then dissolv'd all the distinct Courts of Justice, and Council-Halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Prytaneum* and Council-Hall, where it stands to this day; and out of the old and the new City he made one, which he nam'd *Athens*, ordaining a common Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observ'd, which he call'd *Panathenæa*, or the Sacrifice of all the United *Athenians*. He instituted also another Sacrifice, for the sake of Strangers that would come to fix in *Athens*, call'd

* *Metæcœa*, which is yet celebrated on the 16th day of June. Then, as he had promis'd, he laid down his Regal Power, and settled a Common-wealth, entring upon this great change, not without advice from the Gods.

* Metæ.
cœa, (ui-
toxin) sig-
nifies

Transmi-
gration.

Lays down
his Regal
Power.

Gods. For having sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphos*, concerning the Fortune of his new Government and City, he receiv'd this Answer:

Ἄγε ἄδη Θησέῦ, Πιτθεῖς Θέουντος καύρης,
Πολλὰς τοι τει πλίσαι πατήρ ἔμοις ἐγκλεθηκε,
Τέρματα δὲ κλεσῆς εὐ ύπετέρω ποιοιθέρῳ
Ἄλλας οὐ μητὶ λίσα πεπονημένος θένθει θυμὸν
Βελεύειν. Ἀσκὸς γάρ εὐ σιδματε πνιζοπορεύσῃ.

Hear, Theseus, Pittheus Daughter's Son,
Hear what Jove for thee has done.
In the great City, thou hast made,
He has, as in a Store-house, laid
The settled Periods and fixt Fates
Of many Cities, mighty States.
But know thou neither Fear nor Pain,
Solicit not thy self in vain.
For, like a Bladder that does bide
The fury of the angry Tide,
Thru from high Waves unhurt shall bound,
Always tost but never drown'd.

Which Oracle, they say, one of the Sibyls long after did in a manner repeat to the Atenians, in this Verse:

Ἄσκος βαττίζη, δινῆαι δὲ τοι εἴρηται οὖτι.

The Bladder may be wet, but never drown'd.

Farther yet designing to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers to come and enjoy equal

equal Priviledges with the Natives, and some are of Opinion, that the common form of Proclamation in *Athens*, *Come hither all ye People*, were the words that *Theseus* caused to be proclaim'd, when he thus set up a Commonwealth, consisting, in a manner, of all Nations. Yet he suffer'd not his State, by the promiscuous Multitude that flow'd in, to be turn'd into Confusion, and be left without any order or degree, but was the first that divided the Commonwealth into three distinct Ranks, the Noblemen, the Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the choice of Magistrates, the teaching and dispensing of the Laws, and the interpretation of all holy and Religious things; the whole City, as to all other Matters, being as it were reduc'd to an exact Equality, the Nobles excelling the rest in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And *Theseus* was the first, who, as *Aristotle* says, out of an inclination to Popular Government, parted with the Regal Power, and which *Homer* also seems to witness in his Catalogue of the Ships, where he gives the Name of *People*, to the *Athenians* only.

He then Coined Money, and stamp'd it with the Image of an Ox, either in memory of the *Marathonian Bull*, or of *Taurus* whom he

he vanquish'd, or else to put his People in mind to follow Husbandry, and from this Coin came the expression so frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred Oxen. After this he joined *Megara* to *Attica*, and erected that famous Pillar in the Streights of *Peloponnesus*, which bears an Inscription of two lines, shewing the bounds of the two Countreys that meet there. On the East-side the Inscription is thus:

This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia.

And on the West side thus :

This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia.

He also instituted annual Games, in emulation of *Hercules*, being ambitious, that as the *Greeks*, by that Hero's appointment, Celebrated the *Olympian Games* to the Honour of *Jupiter*, so by his institution they should celebrate the *Isthmian Games* to the Honour of *Neptune*. For those that were there before observ'd, dedicated to *Melicerta*, were perform'd privately and in the Night, and consisted rather of Religious Ceremonies, than of any open Spectacle or publick Feast. But some there are who say, that the *Isthmian Games* were first instituted in memory

mory of *Sciron*, at the Expiation which *Theseus* made for his Murder, upon the account of the nearness of Kindred which was between them, *Sciron* being the Son of *Canethus*, and *Heniocha*, the Daughter of *Pitheus*; tho' others write, that *Sinnis* and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to his Honour, and not to the others, these Games were ordain'd by *Theseus*; and *Hellenicus* and *Andro* of *Halicarnassus*, write, that at the same time he made an Agreement with the *Corinthians*, that they should allow them that came from *Athens* to the Celebration of the *Isthmian Games*, as much space to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sayl of the Ship that brought them thither, stretcht to its full extent, could cover, and that in the first and most honourable Place. Concerning the Voyage that he made in the *Euxine Sea*, there are different Relations; for *Philocorus* and some others write, that he undertook this Expedition with *Hercules*, offering him his Service in the War against the *Amazons*, and had *Antiope* given him for the reward of his Valour: but others, as *Pherecydes*, *Hellenicus* and *Herodorus* write, that he made this Voyage many years after *Hercules*, with a Navy under his own Command, and took the *Amazon* Prisoner; and indeed this seems to come nearest the truth, for we do not

*His Voyage
into the
Euxine
Sea.*

read that any other of all those that accompani'd him in this Action, took any *Amazon* Prisoner. Different from the former, *Bion* writes, that he stole her away by deceit, and fled; for the *Amazons* (he says) being naturally Lovers of Men, were so far from flying from *Theseus* when he touch'd upon their Coasts, that they entertain'd him with great civility, and sent him Presents to his Ship; but he having invited *Antiope* who brought them, to come aboard, immediately set Sail, and carri'd her away. *Menecrates*, that wrote the History of *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, adds, that *Theseus* having *Antiope* aboard his Vessel, cruised for some time about those Coasts, and that there were in the same Ship three young Noblemen of *Athens*, that accompani'd him in this Voyage, all Brothers, whose Names were *Euneus*, *Thoas*, and *Solo.n*. The last of these fell desperately in Love with *Antiope*, but conceal'd it with all possible care; only to one of his most intimate acquaintance he reveal'd the Secret, and employ'd him to break his passion to *Antiope*; she rejected his pretences with a very sharp denial, yet carri'd her self to him with all outward appearances of Civility, and very prudently made no complaint to *Theseus* of any thing that had happen'd; but *Soloon*, urg'd by despair, leap'd into a River near

near the Sea-side, and drowned himself. As soon as *Theseus* was acquainted with his Death, and his unhappy Love that was the cause of it, he was extreamly concern'd, and in the heighth of his grief, an Oracle which he had formerly receiv'd at *Delphos*, came into his mind; for he had been commanded by the Priestess of *Apollo Pythius*, that where ever in his Travels he was most sorrowful, and under the greatest affliction, he should build a City there, and leave some of his Followers to be Governours of the Place. For this cause he there founded a City, which he call'd from the Name of *Apollo, Pythopolis*, and in honour of the unfortunate Youth, he nam'd the River that runs by it, *Soloon*, and left the two surviving Brothers entrusted with the care of the Government and Laws, joyning with them *Hermus*, one of the Nobility of *Athens*, from whom a certain Place in the City is call'd, *The House of Hermus*; tho' by an error in the accent of the word, it has been falsely taken for *the House of Hermes, or Mercury*, and the Honour that was design'd to the Heroe, transferr'd to the God. And this was the rise and ground of the *Amazonian War*, a War of no small consequence, or in which the *Athenians* might think they had to do with Cowards or Women. For it is impossible that they should have plac'd

*He builds
Pythopolis.*

their Camp in the very City, and joyn'd Battel in the middle of it, near the Temple of the *Muses*, unless having first conquer'd the Country round about, they had without any delay or fear mov'd on boldly to *Athens*. That they made so long a Journey by Land, and pass'd an Arm of the *Cimmerion Bosphorus* that was frozen, as *Hellenicus* writes, is difficult to be believ'd. This is certain, that they encamp'd in the City, and may be sufficiently confirm'd by the Names that the Places thereabout yet retain, and the Graves and Monuments of those that fell in the Battel. Both Armies now being in sight, there was a long pause and doubt on each side which should give the first Onset: At last *Theeus* having sacrific'd to *Fear*, in obedience to the Command of an Oracle he had receiv'd, gave them Battel; and this happen'd in the Month of *August*, in which to this very day the *Athenians* celebrate the Feast, that is nam'd from that Month wherein this Battel was fought. But *Clidemus*, desirous to be very nice in each particular of this Affair, writes, that the left Wing of the *Amazons* mov'd towards the Place which is yet call'd *Amazonium*, and the right to a Place call'd *Pnyx*, near *Chrysa*, upon which the *Athenians*, issuing from behind the *Muses* Temple, fell upon them; and that this is

is true, the Graves of those that were slain, to be seen in the Street that leads to the Gate call'd *Piraica*, by the Temple of the Hero *Chalcodus*, are a sufficient Proof. And here it was that the *Athenians* were routed, and shamefully turn'd their backs to Women, as far as to the Temple of the *Furies*. But fresh supplies coming in from *Palladium*, *Ardettus*, and *Lyceum*, charg'd their right Wing, and beat them back into their very Tents, in which Action a great number of the *Amazons* were slain. At ^{Peace con-}
^{cluded.} length, after four Months, a Peace was concluded between 'em by the mediation of *Hippolita*, (for so this Historian calls the *Amazon* which *Theseus* marry'd, and not *Antiope*) tho' others write that she was slain with a Dart by *Molpadia*, fighting by *Theseus* side, and that the Pillar which stands by the Temple at the entring into the *Olympian* ground, was erected to her Honour. Nor is it to be wonder'd that the History of things so very ancient, should be so various and uncertain. It is farther said, that those of the *Amazons* that were wounded, were privately sent away by *Antiope* to *Chalcis*, where many by her care recover'd, but those that dy'd were bury'd in the Place that is to this time call'd *Amazonium*. That this War was ended by a mutual League and Agreement, is evi-

dent both from the Name of the Place adjoining to the Temple of *Theseus*, call'd from the solemn Oath there taken, *Horcomosium*, and also from the ancient Sacrifice which is celebrated to the *Amazons*, the day before the Feast of *Theseus*. The *Megarians* pretend also that some of the *Amazons* were buried in their City, and shew for one of their Monuments a Tomb in the figure of a Lozenge, in the passage from the Market-place to a Place call'd *Rbus*. It is said likewise, that others of 'em were slain near *Chæronea*, and buried near a little Rivulet, formerly call'd *Thermodon*, but now *Hæmon*, of which I have formerly wrote in the Life of *Demosthenes*. It appears further that the Passage of the *Amazons* through *Thessaly* was not without opposition, for there are yet to be seen many of their Sepulchres near *Scotussæa* and *Cynocephalæ*. And this is as much as is worthy the Relation, concerning the *Amazons*. For the account which the ancient Author of a Poem call'd *Theseis*, gives us, of this Invasion of the *Amazons*, how that *Antiope*, to revenge her self upon *Theseus*, for refusing her and marrying *Phædra*, came down upon the City with her Train of *Amazons*, was defeated, and had most of her Followers slain by *Hercules*, is manifestly nothing else but Fable, and the Invention of a Poet.

It

It is true indeed that *Theseus* marri'd *Phædra*, but that was after the death of *Antiope*, by whom he had a Son call'd *Hippolytus*, or, as *Pindar* writes, *Demophoon*. As to the Calamities which befel both *Theseus* and his Son, since none of the Historians have contradic'ted the Tragick Poets that have written of them, they are altogether to be receiv'd for Truths, as they are deliver'd from the Stage. There are also other Reports concerning the Marriages of *Theseus*, the beginnings of which, were neither Honourable, nor their events fortunate, which yet were never represented in the Grecian Plays. He forc'd *Anixo*, the *Træzenian*; having slain *Sirnis* and *Cercyon*, he ravish'd their Daughters; he Marri'd *Peribæa* the Mother of *Ajax*, and then *Phæribæa*, and then *Jope* the Daughter of *Iphicles*. Further he is accus'd for deserting *Ariadne*, (as is before related) being in Love with *Ægle* the Daughter of *Panopeus*, an action neither just nor honourable. And lastly for the Rape of *Helen*, which fill'd all *Aitica* with War and Blood, and was in the end the occasion of his Bannishment and Death, as shall hereafter be related.

Herodorus is of opinion, that tho' there were many famous Expeditions undertaken by the bravest and most honourable Captains of his Time, yet *Theseus* never made

*His Mar-
riages.*

One amongst them, nor appear'd in any great and publick Action; once only excepted, when he joyn'd with the *Lapithæ* in their War against the *Centaurs*: but others say that he accompany'd *Jason* to *Colchos*, and *Meleager* to the slaying of the *Calydonian Boar*, and that hence this came to be a Proverbial Speech, *Not without Theseus*. Also that *Theseus* without any aid of the Heroes of his Time, did himself perform very many and very great Exploits; and that from the high esteem the World set upon his Valour, it grew into a Pro-

In most of the printed Copies it is read, This is another Hercules. but some Manuscripts read it better, as it is here translated. verb, *This is another Theseus*. He was also very instrumental to *Adraſtus*, in recovering the Bodies of those that were slain before *Thebes*, but not, as *Euripides* in his Tragedy says, by force of Arms, but by persuasion, and mutual agreement and composition, for so the greater part of Historians write; nay, *Philochorus* adds farther, that this was the first Treaty that ever was made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the dead; tho' the History of *Hercules* says, that he was the first that ever gave leave to his Enemies to carry off the Bodies of their slain. The burying places of the Common Souldiers are yet to be seen in the Village call'd *Elutheræ*, and those of the Commanders at *Eleufis*, where *Theseus* allotted them a place for their Interment,

ment, to oblige *Adrastus*. And that the dead Bodies were thus recover'd, *Aeschylus* is Witness in his *Tragedy* call'd the *Eleusinians*, where *Theseus* himself is brought in relating the Story as it is here told, which quite overthrows what *Euripides* writes on this Subject, in his Play call'd *The Suppliants*.

The extraordinary and so much celebrated Friendship between *Theseus* and *Peirithous*, is said to have been thus begun. The Fame of the matchless Strength and Valour of *Theseus* being spread through all Greece, *Peirithous* was enflam'd with a desire to be satisfid, and make a tryal himself of what he had heard so much by Report; to this end he seized a Herd of Oxen which belong'd to *Theseus*, and was driving them away from *Marathon*, when News was brought that *Theseus* pursu'd him in Arms, upon which, disdaining to fly, he turn'd back and went on to meet him. But as soon as ever they had view'd one another, each so admir'd the Gracefulness and Beauty, and was seiz'd with such a Reverence for the Bravery and Courage of the other, that they forgat all thoughts of Fighting; and *Peirithous* first stretching out his hand to *Theseus*, bade him be Judge in this Case himself, and promis'd to submit willingly to what ever he demanded, in satisfaction for the injury he had done,

The occasion of the Friendship between Theseus, and Peirithous.

done. But *Theseus* not only forgave him all the damages he had sustain'd, but entreated him to be his Friend and Brother in Arms ; and there immediately they swore an inviolable Friendship to each other. After this *Peirithous* married *Deidamia*, and invited *Theseus* to the Wedding, entreating him to come and see his Countrey, and enter into alliance with the *Lapithæ*; he had at the same time invited the *Centaurs* to the Feast, who growing hot with Wine, began to be very insolent and lew'd, and offer'd violence to the Women, which so enrag'd the *Lapithæ*, that they took immediate revenge upon them, slaying many of them upon the place; and afterwards having overcome them in Battel, drove the whole Race of them out of their Countrey, *Theseus* all along taking their part, and fighting on their side. But *Herodotus* gives a different Relation of these things. That *Theseus* came not to the assistance of the *Lapithæ* till the War was already begun, and that it was in this Journey that he had the first sight of *Hercules*, having made it his busines to find him out at *Trachine*, where he had chosen to rest himself after all his wandrings and his labours, and that this Enterview was honourably perform'd on each part with extream Civility, Respect and Admirations of each other.

other. Yet it is more credible what other Historians write, that there were before frequent EntervIEWS between them, and that it was by the means of *Theseus* that *Hercules* was initiated and admitted to the Ceremonies of the Goddess *Ceres*, having, by his intercession also, been first purifi'd, upon the account of several rash Actions of his former Life.

Theseus was now fifty years old, as *Hellenicus* reports, when he ravish'd *Helen*, who was very young, and not of Age to be marry'd. Wherefore some Writers, to take away this Accusation of one of the greatest Crimes that is laid to his charge, say, that he did not steal away *Helen* himself, but that *Idas* and *Lynceus* were the Ravishers, who brought her to him, and committed her to his charge, and that therefore he refus'd to restore her at the demand of *Castor* and *Pollux*; or according to others, that her own Father *Tyndarus* sent her to be kept by him, for fear of *Enasphorus* the Son of *Hippocoon*, who would have carry'd her away by force when she was yet a Child. But the most probable Relation, and that which has most Witnesses on its side, is this: *Theseus* and *Peirithous* went both together to *Sparta*, and having seiz'd the young Lady as she was dancing in the Temple of *Diana Orthia*, fled away with her. There were

*The Rape
of Helen.*

were presently Men in Arms sent to pursue the Ravishers, but they followed the pursuit no farther than to *Tegea*; and *Theseus* and *Peirithous* being now out of danger, having escap'd out of *Peloponnesus*, made an agreement between themselves, that he to whom the lot shou'd fall, should have *Helen* to his Wife, but should be oblig'd to be ready with his assistance to procure another for his Friend. The lot fell unto *Theseus*, who convey'd her to *Aphidnae*, not being yet marriageable, and deliver'd her to one of his Allies call'd *Aphidnus*; and having sent his Mother *Aethra* after to take care of her Education, desir'd him to keep them so secretly, that none might know where they were. Which done, to return the same service to his Friend *Peirithous*,

Accompa-
nies Peiri-
thous to
Epirus.

he accompany'd him in his Journey to *Epirus*, in order to steal away the King of the *Molofians* Daughter. This King, his own Name being *Aidoneus* or *Pluto*, call'd his Wife and his Daughter, *Proserpina*, and a great Dog which he kept, *Cerberus*, with whom he order'd all that came as Suitors to his Daughter to fight, and promis'd her to him that should overcome the Beast. But having been inform'd, that the design of *Peirithous* his coming was not to court his Daughter, but to force her away, he caused them both to be seized, and threw

threw *Peirithous* to be torn in pieces by his Dog, and clapt up *Theseus* into Prison, and kept him in Chains.

Peri-
thous's
Death.
Theseus in
Prison.

About this time, *Meneitheus*, the Son of *Peteus*, who was great Grandson to *Eretheus*, the first Man that is recorded to have affected Popularity, and ingratiated himself with the Multitude, stirr'd up and exasperated the most eminent Men of the City, who had long born a secret grudge to *Theseus*, and possest them with a belief that *Theseus* had taken from them their several little Kingdoms and Lordships, that so having pent them all up in one City, he might use them as his Subjects and Slaves. He put also the meaner sort into no small commotion, by accusing them sharply, that being deluded with a meer dream of Liberty, tho' indeed they were depriv'd both of that, and of their Countrys and their Temples, instead of many good and gracious Kings of their own, they had given themselves up to be lorded over by a New-comer and a Stranger. Whilst he was thus busid in infecting the minds of the Citizens, the War that *Castor* and *Pollux* brought against *Athens*, came very opportunely to further the Sedition he had been promoting, and some say that he by his persuasions was wholly the cause of their invading the City. At their first approach

Mene-
itheus
stirs up the
Athenians
against
Theseus.

Castor and
Pollux in-
vade A-
thens for
the recove-
ry of He-
len.

proach they committed no Acts of Hostility, but peaceably demanded their Sister *Helen*; but the *Athenians* returning answer, that they knew not where she was dispos'd of, they prepar'd to assault the City; when *Academus* (by what means he came to the knowledge of it, is uncertain) discover'd to them that she was secretly kept at *Aphidnæ*. For which Reason he was both extreamly honour'd during his Life by *Castor* and *Pollux*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, when in after-times they made several Incursions into *Attica*, and destroy'd all the Country round about, spar'd the *Academy* for his sake. But *Dicæarchus* writes, that there were two *Arcadians* in the Army of *Castor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*; from the first, that which is now call'd the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedemia*, and the Village *Marathon* had its Name from the other, who according to the Oracle willingly offer'd up himself a Sacrifice for the prosperous success of the Army. As soon as the *Lacedæmonians* were arriv'd

They take Aphidnæ. at *Aphidnæ*, they first overcame their Enemies in a set Battel, and then assaulted it, and took the Town. And here, they say, *Alycus*, the Son of *Sciron*, was slain on the *Lacedæmonians* side, from whom a Place in *Megara*, where he was bury'd, is call'd

call'd *Alycus* to this day. And *Heraeus* writes, that it was *Theseus* himself that kill'd him, in witness of which he cites these Verses concerning *Alycus*.

¶ ἐν ἑρεγχόεω ποτ' Ἀφίδνη
Μαρνάυσιον Θοσεύς Ελίνης ἔρει πυκόμοιο
ΚΤΕΙΝΕΙ.

*And Alycus on fair Aphidna's Plain.
By Theseus in the Cause of Helen slain.*

Tho' it is not at all probable, that *Theseus* himself was there when both the City and his own Mother were taken. *Aphidnae* being now won by *Castor* and *Pollux*, and the whole City of *Athens* being in great Consternation, *Menestheus* periwaded the People to open their Gates, and receive them with all manner of Civility and Friendship, who, he told them, design'd no violence or injury to any but *Theseus*, who had first done them wrong, but were Benefactors and Saviours to all Mankind beside. And their behaviour to the conquer'd gave credit to what *Menestheus* promis'd; for having made themselves absolute Masters of the Place, they demanded no more than to be initiated in the Ceremonies of the Goddesses *Ceres*, since they were as nearly related to their City as *Hercules* was, who

who had receiv'd the same Honour. This their Desire they easily obtain'd, and were adopted by *Aphidnus*, as *Hercules* had been by *Pylius*. They were honour'd also like Gods, and were call'd by a new Name *Ana-*

**In Greek, ανάτες, either from the * cessation of the War, Aνάτη.* or from the singular care they took that none should suffer any injury, tho' there was so great an Army within the Walls of the City, for the Phrase (*Ανατῶς ἐχειν*) signifies as much, from whence it is likely that Kings were call'd *Anatæs*. Others say, that from the appearance of their Star in the Heavens, they were thus call'd, for in the Attick Dialect this Name comes very near the words * that signify *Above*.

** ἀνέρας,
and ἀνέρα-
στιν.*

Some say that *Æthra*, *Theseus* his Mother, was here taken Prisoner, and carri'd to *Lacedæmonia*, and from thence went away with *Helen* to *Troy*, alledging this Verse of *Homērūs*, to prove that she waited upon *Helen*:

Αἴσπλι πίθηνος θύματα, κλυμένη τα βοῶμα.

Æthra of Pittheus born; and Clymene.

Others reject this Verse as none of *Homērūs*, as they do likewise the whole Fable of *Munychus*, who, the Story says, was the Son of *Demophoon* and *Laodice*, and was brought

brought up privately by *Aethra* at *Troy*. But *Istrus* in the 13th Book of his *Attic History*, gives us an account of *Aethra*, different yet from all the rest: That after the Fight, wherein *Achilles* and *Patroclus* overcame *Paris* in *Theffaly*, near the River *Sperchius*, *Hector* sack'd and plunder'd the City of the *Trezenians*, and took *Aethra* Prisoner there. But this seems to be an absurd and groundless Tale.

Now it happen'd that *Hercules* passing once by the Country of the *Molossians*, was entertain'd in his way by *Aidonens* the King, who in Discourse accidentally fell upon a Relation of the Journey of *Theseus* and *Peirithous* into his Dominions, and what they had design'd to do, and what they were forc'd to suffer. *Hercules* was extremely concern'd for the inglorious Death of the one, and the miserable condition of the other: As for *Peirithous*, he thought it but in vain to expostulate with the King concerning his being put to Death: but *Theseus* being yet kept in Prison, he begg'd to have him releas'd for his sake, and obtain'd that favour from the King. *Theseus* being thus set at liberty, return'd to *Athens*, where his Friends were not yet wholly suppress'd, and dedicated to *Hercules* all the Temples, which the City had erected to himself, changing their Names

Hercules
procrest the
release of
Theseus.

He returns
to Athens.

from *Thesea* to *Heraclea*, four only excepted, as *Philochorus* writes. And now designing to preside in the Commonwealth, and manage the State as before, he soon found himself fall'n into a Nest of Faction and Sedition; he discover'd that those who of a long time had hated him, had now added to their hatred of his Person a contempt of his Authority; and seeing the minds of the People so generally corrupted, that, instead of obeying with silence and submission what ever was Commanded, they expected to be flatter'd and sooth'd into their duty, he had some thoughts to have reduc'd them by force, but by the prevalence of the Faction, and continual Disorders, he was deterr'd from the Attempt. And at last despairing of any good success of his Affairs in *Athens*, he sent away his Children privately in *Eubaea*, commanding them to the care of *Elephenor* the Son of *Chalcodus*; and he himself having solemnly Curs'd the People of *Athens*, in the Village of *Gargettus*, in which there yet remains the Place call'd *Araterion*, or the Place of Cursing, Sail'd to *Scyrus*, where he had Lands left him by his Father, and, as he persuad'd himself a great Friendship with all those of the Island. *Lycomedes* was then King of *Scyrus*; *Theseus* therefore address'd himself to him, and desir'd to have

*Slighted by
the Athe-
nians.*

*He sails to
Scyrus.*

have his Lands put into his possession, as designing to settle and to dwell there, tho' others say, that he came to beg his assistance against the *Athenians*. But *Lycomedes*, being either jealous of the Glory of so great a Man, or to gratifie *Menestheus*, having led him up to the highest Cliff of the Island, on pretence of showing him from thence the Lands that he desir'd, threw him headlong down from the *Rock*, and kill'd him. But others say, he fell down of himself by an unfortunate slip of his Foot, as he was walking there after Supper according to his usual custom. At that time there was no notice taken, nor were any concern'd for his Death, but *Menestheus* quietly possess'd himself of the Kingdom of *Athens*. His Sons were brought up in a private condition, and accompany'd *Elephenor* to the *Trojan War*, but after the decease of *Menestheus*, who dy'd in the same Expedition, they return'd to *Athens*, and recover'd the Government to themselves. But in succeeding Ages there were several remarkable Accidents, that mov'd the *Athenians* to honour *Theseus* as a *demigod*. For in the Battel which was fought at *Marathon* against the *Medes*, many of the Souldiers saw an Apparition of *Theseus* all in Arms fighting in the head of them, and rushing on upon the *Barbarians*.

And after the *Median War*, *Phædo* being *Archon of Athens*, the *Athenians* consulting the Oracle at *Delphos*, were commanded to gather together the Bones of *Theseus*, and laying 'em in some honourable Place, keep them as sacred in the City. But it was very difficult to recover these Reliques, or so much as to find out the Place where they lay, by reason of the inhospitable and savage temper of the barbarous People that inhabited the Island. But afterwards when *Cimon* took the Island, (as is related in his Life) and had a great desire to find out the Place where *Theseus* was buried, he by chance spy'd an Eagle upon a rising ground pecking it with her Beak, and tearing up the Earth with her Talons, when on the sudden it came into his mind, as it were by some divine Inspiration, to dig there, and search for the Bones of *Theseus*. There was found in that place a Coffin of a Man of more than ordinary size, and the head of a brass Lance, and a Sword lying by it, all which he took aboard his Gally, and brought with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians* having notice of this, went out to meet and receive the Reliques of this great Man in a splendid and pompous Procession, and did sacrifice to them, and were as much transported, as if *Theseus* himself was return'd alive to their City.

After

After that they interr'd them in the middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform their Wrestlings and other Exercises of Body. His Tomb is a Sanctuary and Refuge for Slaves, and all those of mean condition, that fly from the Persecution of Men in Power, in memory that *Theseus* while he lived, was an Assister and Protector of the Distress'd, and never refus'd the Petitions of the Afflicted, that fled to him for Succour and Defence. The chief and most Solemn Sacrifice which they celebrate to him, is kept on the 8th day of October, in which he return'd with the *Athenian* young Men from *Crete*. Besides which they sacrifice to him on the 8th day of every Month, either because he return'd from *Trazene* the 8th day of June, as *Diodorus* the Geographer writes, or else thinking that number of all others to be most proper to him, because he was reputed to be born of *Neptune*, for they sacrifice to *Neptune* on the 8th day of every Month, for the Number Eight being the first Cube of an even Number, and the double of the first Square, seemed to be an Emblem of the steadfast and immoveable Power of this God, who from thence has the Names of *Asphalius* and *Gæiochus*, that is, the *Establisher* and *Stayer of the Earth*.

THE L I F E O F ROMULUS.

Englighed from the Greek,

By Mr. James Smalwood, Fel. of Trin.
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Volume I.

* Whence Rome was so call'd.

BY whom, and for what reason, the City of *Rome, a Name so great in glory, and famous in the mouths of all men, was so first call'd, Authors do not agree. Some are of opinion that the Pelasgians, after they had over-run the greater

ROMULUS.



M. Burghers delin. et sculp.



greater part of the habitable World, and subdued most Nations, fix'd themselves here, and from their own great strength in War [which is the signification of the Word in Greek] call'd the City of *Rome*. Others, that after the taking of *Troy*, some few that escap'd the Enemy, fortunately meeting with Shipping, put to Sea, and being driven upon the Coasts of *Thuscany*, came to an Anchor off from the Mouth of the River *Tyber*, where, their Women being miserably tir'd and harass'd by the toilsomeness of the Voyage, it was propos'd by one whose Name was *Roma*, a Person of the best Quality, and seemingly of the best Understanding too amongst 'em, to burn the Ships: Which being done, the Men at first were very much offended at it; but afterwards, of necessity, seating themselves near *Palatium*, where things in a short while succeeded far better than they could hope, in that they found the Countrey very good, and the People Courteous, they not only did the Lady *Roma* all other great Honours, but they added this also, of calling the City they had built after her Name. From this, they say, came that Custom at *Rome* for Women to Salute their Kinsmen and Husbands with Kisses, because those Women after they had burnt the Ships, did make

use of such like Allurements to pacifie their Husbands, and allay the displeasure they had conceiv'd. * Some say, that *Roma*, from whom this City was so call'd, was Daughter of *Italus* and *Leucaria*; others, of *Telephus*, *Hercules*'s Son, who was married to *Æneas*; others again, of *Ascanius*, *Æneas*'s Son. But then some say, *Romanus*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*, built it; some that *Romus*, the Son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomede* sent from *Troy*; and others that it was founded by *Romus*, King of the *Latines*, that drove out the *Thuscans*, who came originally from *Thessaly* into *Lydia*, and from thence into those parts of *Italy*. Nay, those very Authors, who by the clearest Reasons make it appear, that

* Of Ro-
mulus's
Birth.

* *Romulus* gave Name to that City, do yet strangely differ concerning his Birth and Family: For some write, he was Son to *Æneas* and *Dexithea*, Daughter of *Phorbas*, who with his Brother *Remus*, in their Infancy, was carried into *Italy*, and being on the River when the Waters were very rough, all the Ships were cast away except only that where the young Children were, which being safely landed on a level Bank of the River, they were both unexpectedly sav'd, and from them the Place was call'd *Rome*. Some say, *Roma*, Daughter of that *Trojan* Lady who was

was married to *Latinus*, *Telemachus's* Son, was Mother to *Romulus*; others that *Æmilia*, Daughter of *Æneas* and *Lavinia*, had him by the God *Mars*; and others give you little less than meer Fables of his Original. As to *Tarchetius*, King of *Alba*, who was a most wicked and cruel Man, appear'd in his own House a strange Vision, which was the Figure of a Man's Yard, that rose out of a Chimney-hearth, and stay'd there for many days. Whereupon the Oracle of *Tethys* in *Thuscany* being Consulted, the result of it was, that some young Virgin should accept of its Court, and she should have a Son Famous in his Generation, eminent for Virtue, good Fortune, and strength of Body. *Tarchetius* told the Prophecy to one of his own Daughters, and commanded her to entertain the Lover; but she slighting the matter, put her Woman on the execution of it. *Tarchetius* hearing this, in great indignation imprison'd the Offenders, purposing to put 'em to death; but being deterr'd from Murder by the Goddess *Vesta* in a Dream, enjoyn'd them for their punishment the working a piece of Cloth, in their Chains as they were, which when they finish'd, they should be suffer'd to marry; but what-ever they work'd by day, *Tarchetius* Commanded
others

others to unravel in the Night. In the mean time the Waiting-woman was deliver'd of two Boys, whom *Tarchetius* gave into the hands of one *Teratius*, with strict Command to destroy 'em; but he expos'd 'em to Fortune by a River side, where a Wolf constantly came and suckled 'em, and the Birds of the Air brought little morsels of Food, which they put into their mouths; 'till a Neat-herd spying 'em, was first strangely surpris'd, but venturing to draw nearer, took the Children up in his arms. This was the manner of their preservation, and thus they grew up 'till they set upon *Tarchetius*, and overcame him. This *Promathion* says, that writ the History of *Italy*; but *Diocles Peparethius* deliver'd first among the *Græcians* the most principal Parts of the History that has most credit, and is generally receiv'd; him *Fabius Pictor* in most things follows. Yet here too are still more Scruples rais'd: As for Example; The Kings of *Alba* descending lineally from *Aeneas*, the Succession devolv'd at length upon two Brothers, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. *Amulius* to divide things into two equal shares, put in equivalency to the Kingdom all the Treasury and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. *Numitor* chose the Kingdom; but *Amulius* having the Money

ney, and being able to do more with that than *Numitor*, he both with a great deal of ease took his Kingdom from him, and withal fearing lest his Daughter might have Children, made her a Vestal Nun, in that condition for ever to live a single and Maiden Life. This Lady some call'd * *Ilia*, others *Rhea*, and others *Sylvia*; ^{* His Ma-}
_{ther.} however not long after she was, contrary to the establish'd Laws of the Vestals, discover'd to be with Child, and should have suffer'd the most cruel punishment, had not *Antho*, the King's Daughter, mediated with her Father for her; nevertheless she was confin'd, and debarr'd all humane conversation, that she might not be deliver'd without his knowledge. In time she brought forth two Boys, extraordinary both in the bigness and beauty of their Bodies : Whereupon *Amulius* becoming yet more fearful, commanded a Servant to take and cast 'em away ; this Man some call *Faustulus*; others say, *Fau-* Faustulus. *stulus* was the Man who brought them up; whoever the Servant was, he put the Children in a small Trough, and went towards the River with a design to cast them in; but seeing the Waters flow, and pouring in mighty surges upon him, he fear'd to go nigher, but dropping the Children near the Bank, went himself off;

off ; the River overflowing, the Flood at last bore up the Trough, and gently wafting it, landed 'em on a very pleasant Plain,

* Cermanum.

which they now call * *Cermanum*, formerly *Germanum*, perhaps from *Germani*, which signifies *Brothers*. Near this Place grew a wild Fig-tree, which they call'd *Ruminalis*,

either from *Romulus* (as it is vulgarly thought) or from * *Ruminating*, because Cattel did usually in the heat of the day seek Cover under it, and there chew the Cud ; or chiefly from the sucking of these Children there ; for the Ancients call'd the Dug or Teat of any Creature, *Ruma*, and the tutelar Goddess of all young Children

* *Rumilia*. they still call * *Rumilia*, in sacrificing to whom they made no use of Wine, but Milk. While the Infants lay here, History tells us, a she-Wolf nurs'd 'em, and a

* *δρυόκο-
λατίνης*. little * Wood-pecker constantly fed and foster'd 'em : these Creatures are esteem'd holy to the God *Mars*, and for the Wood-pecker, the *Latines* still egregiously worship and honour it. Whence it was not altogether incredible what the Mother of the Children said, that she conceiv'd with Child by the God *Mars*, tho' they say that mistake was put upon her by *Amulius* himself, being by him robb'd of her Honour, who appear'd to her all in Armour, and so committed a Rape upon her Body.

Others

Others think the first rise of this Fable came from the Childrens Nurse, purely upon the ambiguity of a word ; for the Latines not only call'd Wolves, *Lupæ*, but also lew'd and prostitute Women : And such a one was the Wife of *Faustulus*, who nurtur'd these Children, *Acca Laurentia* by Name ; to her the Romans offer Sacrifices, and to her in the Month *April* the Priest of *Mars* does offer up a special Libation, and they call it the *Laurentian Feast* : they honour also another *Laurentia* much upon the like occasion ; as thus :

The Keeper of *Hercules's* Temple having, it seems, little else to do, propos'd to his Deity a Game at Dice, laying down, that if he himself won, he would have something valuable of the God, but if he was beaten, he would spread him a Noble Table, and procure withal a fair Lady to lye with him. Upon these terms, reckoning first the Chances that were thrown for the God, and then for himself, he found plainly he had lost ; nevertheless being willing Matters should be adjusted, and thinking it honest to stick to the Proposals he made himself, he both provided the Deity a good Supper, and seeing *Laurentia*, who was a fine Creature, tho' not as yet a fam'd Beauty, treated her in the Temple, where he had also laid

laid a Bed, and after Supper lock'd her in as if the God were really to enjoy her and indeed it is said, the Deity did truly bed the Lady, and commanded her in the Morning to walk the Streets, and whatever Man she met first, him to Salute, and make her Friend. The Man she met was by Name *Tarrutius*, far stricken in years, but of a competent subsistence, without Children, and had always liv'd a single Life: This Man * knew *Laurentia*, and lov'd her well, and at his death left her sole Heir of all his large and fair Possessions, most of which she in her last Will and Testament bequeath'd to the People. It was reported of her, being now a celebrated Beauty, and esteem'd the Mistress of a God, that she suddenly disappear'd near the Place where the first *Laurentia* lay buried, the Place is at this day call'd * *Velabrum*, because, the River frequently overflowing, they went over in Ferry-Boats much about this Place to the Market, which manner of Waftage the *Latines* call *Velatura*; others derive the Name from *Velum* a *Veil*, because the Exhibitors of publick Shews, generally making their Procession from the Market-place to the *Circus maximus* [or common Shew-place] did always *veil* that space between. Upon these accounts is the second *Laurentia* so highly honour'd at *Rome*.

* *Vela-brum.*

The

The Children all this while *Faustulus*,
Amulius's Neat-herd, educated privately
from the knowledge of all Men; but, as
some say, and with the greatest likelihood
too, *Numitor* was conscious all along to the
thing, and made Allowances under-hand to
their Tutors; for it is said, they were at *Ga-
bii* well instructed in Letters, and all other
Accomplishments befitting their Birth and
Quality. The reason of their Names (*Ro-
mulus* and *Remus*) was, as you find it in
Story, because they were seen * sucking ^{* Ruma}
of the Wolf. In their very Infancy, the ^{signifying a}
Noble Structure of their bodies presently
discover'd the natural greatness of their
Minds and Thoughts; and when they
grew up, they both prov'd of great Bra-
very and Manhood, attempting all Enter-
prizes that seem'd hazardous, and shew-
ing still a Courage altogether undaunted.
But *Romulus* seem'd rather to excel in
Wisdom, and to have an Understanding
more adapted to politick Affairs, in his
Life and Conversation amongst his Neigh-
bours, both in feeding his Flock, and ma-
naging his Dogs for Hunting, raising a
great Opinion in all, that he was born ra-
ther to Rule and Govern than be a Subject.
To their Comrades, nay Inferiors, they
were affable and Courteous; but the King's
Servants, his Bayliffs and Overseers, as
being

being in nothing better Men than themselves, they despis'd and slighted, nor were the least concern'd at their commands and menaces. They us'd honest Pastimes, and liberal Studies, esteeming Sloth and Idleness not to be commendable, but rather Exercises, as Hunting and Running, catching of Robbers, taking of Thieves, and delivering the wrong'd and oppressed from injury. Upon this account they became Famous.

Now there happening a Quarrel betwixt *Numitor's* and *Amulius's* Neat-herds, the latter not enduring the driving away of their Cattel by the others, fell foul upon them, and put 'em to flight, and rescued withal the greatest part of the prey. At which *Numitor* being highly incens'd, they little regarded it, but reunited their Forces, and picking up a great many needy Fellows and Servants, began a seditious and mutinous Riot; and *Romulus* employing himself then at a Sacrifice, (for he was a lover of holy Ceremonies and Prophecies) *Numitor's* Neat-herds meeting with *Remus*, upon a small Journey he was making, fell upon him, and some few blows and Wounds passing between them, took *Remus* Prisoner, who being carri'd before *Numitor*, and there accus'd of Misdemeanors, he would not punish him himself, fearing his Brother might

*The occa-
sion of Ro-
mulus and
Remus be-
ing known.*

might be angry, but went to him, and desir'd Justice might be done him, as he was his Brother, and was affronted by his Servants. The Men of *Alba* likewise resenting the thing ill, and thinking the Man dishonourably us'd, *Amulius* was induced to deliver *Remus* up into *Numitor's* hands, to use him as he thought fit. He therefore took and carried him home, and being struck with admiration of the Youth's Person, in proportion and strength of Body exceeding all men, and perceiving in his very Countenance the Courage and presence of his Mind, which stood undaunted and unshaken in his present Calamities, and hearing farther all the Enterprizes and Actions of his Life, were answerable to what he saw of him, but chiefly (as it seem'd) God influencing and directing the Instruments of great Works, he having a desire and opportunity to enquire into the truth of him, in gentle terms, and with a kind aspect, raising a confidence and hope in him, ask'd him, Who he was, and whence he was deriv'd. He taking heart, spoke thus: *I Remus's will, Sir, hide nothing from you, for you Speech.* seem to be of a more Princely temper than *Amulius*, in that you give a hearing, and examine fairly, before you punish; but be condemn before the Cause is heard. First then, We (for we are Twins) thought our selves

the Sons of Faustulus and Laurentia, the King's Servants ; but since we have been accus'd and aspers'd with Calumnies, and brought in peril of our lives here before you, we hear great things of our selves, the truth whereof will appear from the issue of this danger we are in. Our Birth is said to have been Miraculous, our Fostering and Nurture in our Infancy still more strange ; by Birds and Beasts, to whom we were cast out, by them were we fed, that is, by the Milk of a Wolf, and the small Morsels of a Woodpecker, as we lay in a little Trough by the side of a River ; the Trough is now in being, and is preserv'd with Brass Plates round it, and an Inscription in old obscure Characters on it, which may prove hereafter but very insignificant tokens to our Parents, when we are dead and gone. Numitor, upon these Words, and recollecting the time too, according to the young Man's Looks, slighted not the hope that flatter'd him, but took care how to come at his Daughter privately, (for she was still kept under restraint) to talk with her concerning these Matters.

Faustulus hearing Remus was taken, and deliver'd up, begg'd Romulus to assist in his rescue, informing him then plainly of the particulars of his Birth, not but he had before given him some hints of it, and told him as much as an attentive Man might make

make no small Conclusions from it; he himself, full of Concern, and fear of not coming in time, took the Trough, and ran instantly to *Numitor*; but giving a suspicion to some of the King's Gentry at his Gate, and being gaz'd upon by 'em, and perplex'd with their impertinent Questions, could not but discover the Trough under his Cloak; now by chance there was one among them who was at the exposing of the Children, and was one employ'd in the Office; he seeing the Trough, and knowing it by its Make and Inscription, guess'd at the business, and without farther delay telling the King of it, brought in the Man to be examin'd. In these many and great Distractions, *Faustulus* neither prov'd himself altogether undaunted, neither was he wholly forc'd out of all: He confess'd indeed the Children were alive, but liv'd a great way from *Alba*; that he himself was going to carry the Trough to *Ilia*, who had often greatly desir'd to see and handle it, for a confirmation of the hopes of her Children. As Men generally do, who are troubled in mind, and act either in fear or passion, it so fell out *Amulius* now did; for he sent in all haste a Messenger, both otherwise an honest Man, and a sure Friend to *Numitor*, with commands to enquire of *Numitor*, whether any Tidings

dings had come to him of the Children, as if they were in being ; now the Man being come, and seeing how little *Remus* wanted of being receiv'd into the Arms and Embraces of *Numitor*, he both strengthened the belief of his hope, and advis'd withal to recover Matters with all expedition, and he himself clos'd with 'em, and acted jointly ; the strictness of time, tho' they had been desirous, did not suffer them to demur. For *Romulus* was now drawn very near, and many of the Citizens out of fear and hatred of *Amulius*, revolted to his side ; besides he brought great Forces with him, divided into Companies, consisting each of an 100 Men, every Captain carrying a small bundle of Grass and Shrubs tyed to a Pole ; the *Latines* call such bundles, *Manapuli*, and from hence it is that in their Armies they call their Captains, *Manipulares* ; *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making Attacks from without, the Tyrant not knowing either what to do, or what expedient to think of for his security, in that Amazement and Distraction, was taken and put to death. These are for the most part the Relations of *Fabius* and *Diocles Peparethius*, (who I think is the first that writes of the building of *Rome*) which some suspect are only fabulous and made Stories ; but they ought

*Amulius is
slain.*

ought not wholly to be disbeliv'd, if Men would consider Fortune, what strange things it sometimes brings about, and take an estimate of the Actions of the *Romans*, how improbable it is they could arrive at this Greatneis, had they not some miraculous Original, attended with great and extraordinary Circumstances.

Amulius now being dead, and Matters quietly dispos'd, the two Brothers would neither dwell in *Alba* without Governing there, nor were they willing to take the Government into their own hands, during the Life of their Grandfather. Having therefore delivered the Dominion up into his hands, and paid their Mother such Respects as their Duty oblig'd 'em to, * they resolv'd to live by themselves, and build a City in the same place where they were in Rome. The first design of building
their Infancy brought up; for this was the most specious pretence they could make, of their departure; tho' perhaps it was necessary, so many shoals of Slaves and Fugitives continually flocking to 'em, either to be totally dissolv'd, by dispersing them, or else to plant a Colony elsewhere with 'em; for that the Inhabitants of *Alba* did not think Fugitives worthy of being receiv'd and incorporated Citizens among them, first plainly appear'd, from the Adventure upon their Women, which

really was not attempted out of any violent lust, but deliberately, purely out of want and necessity of lawful Wives, whom they afterwards extreamly lov'd and honour'd.

Not long after the first Foundation of the City, they open'd a Sanctuary of Refuge for all Fugitives, which they call'd the Temple of the God *Asylæus*, where they receiv'd and protected all, delivering none back, either the Servant to his Master, the Debtor to his Creditors, or the Murtherer into the hands of the Magistrate, saying it was a Priviledg'd Place, and they could so maintain it by an Order of the holy Oracle; insomuch that the City grew presently very Populous, for they say, it consisted at first of no more than a 1000 Houses: But of that hereafter.

*Romulus
and Remus
differ about
the Place.*

Their minds being fully bent upon building, there arose presently a difference about the Place where. *Romulus* he built a Square of Housles, which he call'd *Rome*, and would have the City be there; *Remus* laid out a piece of Ground on the *Aventine Mount*, well fortifi'd by nature, which was from him call'd *Remonius*, but now *Rignarius*; concluding at last to decide the Contest by a Divination from a flight of Birds, and placing themselves a part at some

some distance, to *Remus*, they say, appear'd six Vultures, to *Romulus* double the Number; others say, *Remus* did truly see his Number, and that *Romulus* feign'd his, but when *Remus* came to him, that then he did indeed see twelve. Hence it is that the *Romans* in their Divinations from Birds, do chiefly regard the Vultur, tho' *Herodorus Pontius* relates that *Hercules* was always very joyful when a Vultur appear'd to him upon any Action, for it is a Creature the least hurtful of any, pernicious neither to Corn, Plants, or any Cattle; it prey's only upon Carrion, and never kills or hurts any living thing; and as for Birds, it touches not them tho' they are dead, as being of its own Species, whereas Eagles, Owls, and Hawks, prey upon all their own fellow-Creatures; but *Eschylus* says,

"Ορνιθοὶ ὄπρις πῶς ἀνέγνευσι φαγόν;

What Bird is clean that preys on's fellow-Bird?

Besides all other Birds we see (as the saying is) every day, and they occur continually to our Senses, but a Vulture is a very rare sight, and you shall seldom meet with a ~~Man~~ can tell you how they breed, insomuch that the rarity and unfrequency of 'em has rais'd an absurd opinion in some, that they come

to us from some other certain Countreys, as Soothsayers judge, what ever happens preternaturally or inspontaneously, to be sent from God.

When *Remus* knew the Cheat, he was much displeas'd; and as *Romulus* was casting up a Ditch where he design'd the Foundation of the City-Wall, some peices of the Work he turn'd to ridicule, others he trampled on and spurn'd at; at last as he was in contempt skipping over the Work, some say, *Romulus* himself stroke him; others, that *Celer*, one of his Companions:

Remus is however there fell *Remus*; in that Scuffle also was *Faustulus* slain, and *Plisfinus*, who being *Faustulus*'s Brother, Story tells us, help'd to bring up *Romulus*: *Celer* upon this fled instantly into *Tuscany*, and from him do the *Romans* call all Men that are swift of Foot, *Celeres*; and because *Quintus Metellus*, at his Father's Funeral, in a few days time gave the People a Shew of Sword-playing, they admiring his expedition, gave him the Name of *Celer*.

Romulus begins to build.

Romulus, having buried his Brother *Remus*, together with his two Foster-fathers, on the Mount *Remonius*, fell a building his City; and sent for Surveyors out of *Tuscany*, who directed him in all the Ceremonies to be observ'd, and instructed him, by

by drawing of Schemes, how every thing should be done. First, They dug a Trench round that which is now the *Comitium*, or Hall of Justice, and into it did they solemnly throw the first Fruits of all things, either good by Custom, or necessary by Nature; lastly, every Man taking a small Turf of Earth of the Countrey from whence he came, they all threw 'em in promiscuously together. This Trench they call'd *Mundus*, (the whole World) making which their Center, they design'd the City in a Circle round it. Then the Founder fitted to a Plow a Brazen Plow-share, and yoking together a Bull and a Cow, drew himself a deep Line or Furrow round the Bounds; the business of them that follow'd after, was to see what-ever Earth was thrown up, should be turn'd all inwardly towards the City, and not to slip a Clod that fell outwards. With this Line did they describe the Wall, all within which were the Territories of the City, which they call'd *Pomerium*, from *Post murum*, or *Pone mænia*, by the cutting off or changing some Letters; where they design'd to make a Gate, there they lifted up the Plow, and left a space for it; whereupon they esteem the whole Wall as holy, only where the Gates are, for had they adjudged them also sacred, they could not without offence to Religion, have

The day
when.

have had a free ingress and egress for the Necessaries of humane Life, some whereof are in themselves unclean. As for the day they began to build the City, 'tis confess'd of all hands to be the 21st of April, and that day the *Romans* do Anniversarily keep holy, calling it their Countreys Birth-day; at first, they say, they Sacrificed no living Creature on this day, thinking it very decent and behovful to Celebrate the Feast of their Countreys Birth-day, purely, and without the stain of Blood; nevertheless before the City was ever built, there was a Feast of the Herds-men and Shepherds kept on this day, which went by the Name of *Palilia*. But now the *Roman* and *Grecian* Months have little or no Analogy; these say the day *Romulus* began to build was infallibly the 30th. of the Month, at which time there was an Eclipse of the Moon, which happen'd in the 3^d. year of the 6th. *Olympiad*, which the *Grecians* imagine *Antimachus* the *Teian* Poet saw. In the times of *Varro* the Philosopher, a Man very well read in *Roman History*, liv'd one *Tarrutius*, his familiar Friend and Acquaintance, both a good Philosopher and a skilful Mathematician, and one too that out of curiosit-ty of Speculation, had studied the way of drawing Schemes and Tables, and seem'd to be excellent in the Art; to him *Varro*

pro-

propounded to cast *Romulus's* Nativity, even to the first day and hour, and to make his Deductions from the several Events of the Man's Life which he should be inform'd of, as the solutions of Geometrical Problems do require; for it belongs to the same Science both to foretel a man's Life, by knowing the time of his Birth, and also to find out his Birth by the knowledge of his Life. This task *Tarrutius* undertook, and first looking into the Actions and Casualties of the Man, together with the time of his Life and manner of his Death, and then Comparing all these Remarks together, he very confidently and positively pronounc'd, that *Romulus* was conceiv'd in his Mothers Womb, the first year of the 2d. Olympiad, the 23d. day of the Month the *Ægyptians* call *Chæac.* (which may be said to answer our *December*) and the 3d. hour after Sunset; that he was born the 21st. day of the Month *Iboch,* (which is *Saptember*) about Sun-rising; and that the first Stone of *Rome* was laid by him the 9th day of the Month *Pharmuthi,* (*April*) between the 2d. and 3d. hour; for, as to the Fortune of Cities, as well as Men, they think they have their certain Periods of Time prefix'd, which may be Collected and foreknown from the Positions of the Stars at their first Foundation. These and the like Relations

Relations may perhaps rather take and delight the Reader with their Novelty and Extravagancy, than offend him because they are Fabulous.

*He divides
the People.*

* From
Lego, to
choose.

The City now being built, all that were of Age to bear Arms, *Romulus* listed into Military Companies, each Company consisting of 3000 Footmen and 300 Horse. These Companies were call'd * *Legions*, because they were the choicest and most select of the People for fighting Men; the rest of the Multitude he call'd [*Populus*] the *People*. An Hundred of the most eminent Men he chose for his Counsellors; these he stil'd *Patricians*, and the whole Body of 'em, the *Senate*, which signifies truely

* *Repositia*. a * *Consistory* of venerable *Old Men*. The *Patricians*, some say, were so call'd, because they were the Fathers of honest and lawfull Children; others, because they could give a good account who their *Fathers* were, which every one of the Rabble that pour'd into the City at first could not do; others, from *Patrocinium*, a Patronage, by which they meant an Authority over the common People, and do still, attributing the origine of the Word to *Patronus*, one of those that came over with *Evander*, a Man signal for being a Protector and Defender of the Weak and Needy: but perhaps the most probable Judgment might be, that

Romulus

Romulus esteeming it the Duty of the chiefest and Wealthiest Men, with a Fatherly care and concern to look after the meaner, and withal encouraging the Commonalty not to dread or be aggriev'd at the Honours of their Superiors, but with all good will to make use of 'em, and to think and call 'em their *Fathers*, might from hence give them the Name of *Patricians*. For at this very time all Foreigners style those that sit in Council, *Lords* and *Presidents*, but the *Romans* making use of a more honourable and less invidious Name, call them, *Patres Conscripti*; at first indeed simply *Patres*, but afterwards, more being added, *Patres Conscripti*; and by this honourable Title was the *Senate* distinguish'd from the *Populacy*; the rest of the Wealthier sort he distinguish'd from the common People, by calling *Them Patrons*, and these their *Clients*, by which means he created a wonderful Love and Amity betwixt 'em, which begat great Justice in their dealings. For *They were always their Clients Counsellors in litigious Cases, their Advocates in Judgments; in fine, their Advisers and Overseers in all Affairs what-ever.* These again faithfully serv'd their Patrons, not only paying them all respect and deference, but also, in case of Poverty, helping them to place their Children, and pay off

off their Debts ; and for a *Patron* to witness against his *Client*, or a *Client* against his *Patron*, that no Law nor Magistrate could enforce ; but in after-Times, all other Offices of Equity continuing still between 'em, it was thought a base and dishonourable thing, for the better sort to take Money from their Inferiors. And so much of these Matters.

His Stratagem upon the Sabine Virgins. In the 4th. Month, after the City was built, (as *Fabius* writes) the Adventure of stealing Women was attempted ; and, some say, *Romulus* himself, being naturally a Martial Man, and predisposed too perhaps by some certain Oracles, as if the Fates had ordain'd the Future Growth and greatness of *Rome* should depend upon the benefit of War, did begin to use Violence to the *Sabines*, and that he took away only 30 Virgins, rather to give an occasion of War, than out of any want of Women ; though this is not very probable, but rather that he observing his City presently fill'd by a Confluence of Foreigners, few of whom had Wives, and that the Multitude in general, consisting of a mixture of mean and obscure Creatures, fell under contempt, and seem'd to be of no long continuance together, and hoping farther, after the Women were appeas'd, to make this Injury in some measure an occasion of Confederacy

federacy and mutual Commerce with the *Sabines*, took in hand this exploit after this manner : First he gave it out, as if he had found an Altar of a certain God hid under ground, the God they call'd *Consus*, or the God of *Council*, (for they still call a Consult, *Consilium*, and their chief Magistrates, *Consules*, namely *Counsellors*) this God is *Neptune*, the Inventer of Horse-riding; for the Altar is kept cover'd in the greater *Cirque* or Tilt-yard at other times, only at Horse-Racing then it appears to publick view ; and some say, it was not without reason, that this God had his Altar hid under Ground, because all Councils ought to be secret and conceal'd. Upon discovery of this Altar, *Romulus* by Proclamation appointed a day for a splendid Sacrifice, and for publick Games and Shews, to entertain all sorts of People, and many flock'd thither, he himself sat uppermost, amidst his Nobles, Clad in Purple. Now the Sign of their falling on was to be, whenever he arose and gather'd up his Robe, and threw it over his body ; his Men stood all ready arm'd, with their Eyes intent upon him, and when the Sign was given, drawing their Swords, and falling on with a great shout, ravish'd away the Daughters of the *Sabines*, they themselves flying without any let or hindrance ; they say,

say, there were but 30 taken, and from them were the Tribes or Parishes nam'd, but *Valerius Antias* says, 527. *Jubas*, 683 *Virgins*, which was the greatest excuse *Romulus* made, that they had taken never a Married Woman save one only, *Herilia* by Name, and her too unknowingly, which was a means of their reconciliation; for hence it appear'd, they did not for an affront or injury commit this Rape, but with a design purely to joyn Families, and unite them upon the greatest and surest Bonds. This *Herilia*, some say, *Hostilius* Married, a most eminent Man among the *Romans*; others, *Romulus* himself, and that she bare two Children to him, a Daughter, who by reason of *Primogeniture* was call'd *Prima*, and one only Son, whom from the great concourse of Citizens to him at that time, he call'd *Aollius*, but after-Ages, *Abillius*. But these things *Zenodotus* the *Trazænian* Writs, which are contradicted by many.

The reason of the word *congrego*, to gather together. Among those who committed this Rape upon the Virgins, there were, they say, as it so then happen'd, some of the meanner Talasius at sort of Men, who were carrying off a Dam-Weddings. sel, far excelling all, both in Beauty and Comeliness of Stature, whom, when *some Gentlemen that met 'em, attempted to take her

* εὐτοις τῶν
χρηστόνων.

her from 'em, they cried out, they were carrying her to *Talafus*, a young Man indeed, but a brave and Worthy Person; hearing that, they commended and applauded them highly, insomuch that some turning back, accompanied them with great joy and gladness, shouting and extolling the Name of *Talafus*. Hence do the *Romans* to this very time at their Weddings sing *Talafus* for their Nuptial word, as the *Greeks* do *Hymenæus*, because, say they, this Lady proved a fortunate and happy match to him. But *Sextius Sylla* the *Carthaginian*, a Man wanting neither Learning nor Ingenuity, told me, *Romulus* gave this word as a sign when to begin the Onset; every body therefore who made prize of a Virgin, cried out, *Talafus*; and for that Reason the Custom continues so now at Marriages. But most are of opinion, (of whom *Jubas* particularly is one) this word was us'd to new married Women, by way of admonishment and incitement to good Huswifery, the *Greek* word *ταλασία*, signifying Spinning, and the *Italian* words not being then mix'd with the *Greek*. But if this be not false, and the *Romans* did at that time use the word *ταλασία*, as we *Græcians* do, a Man might fancy a more probable Reason of the Custom. For when the *Sabines*,

after the War against the *Romans*, were reconcil'd, Conditions were made concerning their Women, that they should be obliged to do no other servile Offices to their Husbands but what concern'd *Spinning*; it was customary therefore ever after at Weddings, for those that gave the Bride, or led her, or for any one else present, sportingly to say *Talafus*, intimating thereby, how she was now brought to no other Servitude but what was in *Spinning*. Moreover it is a Custom at this very day, for the Bride of her self not to enter her Husband's Threshold, but to be lifted over, in memory that the *Sabine* Virgins were carried in by violence, and would not enter freely. Some say too, the Custom of parting the Brides Hair with the head of a Spear, was in token their Marriages began at first by War, and Acts of Hostility; of which I have spoken more fully in my Book of *Questions*.

This Rape was committed the 18th day of the Month *Sextilis*, which is now *August*, on which the Solemnities of the *Consualia* are kept.

The Ceninian's War against Romulus. The *Sabines* were a numerous and martial People, but liv'd in small unfortified Villages, as it became them, who were a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, to be naturally of great Courage, and fear nothing; nevertheless

nevertheless seeing themselves by great Hostages bound up to their good behaviour, and being solicitous for their Daughters, they sent Ambassadors to *Romulus*, with fair and equitable Requests, that he would return their young Women, and retract that act of Violence, and afterwards in all Reason and Equity establish a friendly and neighbourly correspondence between both Nations. But *Romulus* would not part with the young Women, yet proposed to the *Sabines* to enter into an alliance with 'em ; upon which point some consulted and demurr'd long, but *Acron* King of the *Ceninenses*, a Man of great Courage, and well experienced in War, who had all along a jealousy of *Romulus*'s bold Attempts, and considering particularly from this Exploit upon the Women, he would grow formidable to all People, and indeed insufferable, were he not chastised, was the first that rose up in Arms, and with a powerful Army made head against him. *Romulus* likewise prepared to receive him ; but when they came within sight, and viewed each other, they made a Challenge to fight a single Duel, the Armies standing unconcerned by ; hereupon *Romulus* prayed and made a Vow to *Jupiter*, if he did conquer his Enemy, to dedicate his Adversary's Armour to his Honour ; upon

which he both overcame him in Combat, and after Battel was joyn'd, routed his Army also, and then took his City, but did those he found in it no injury, only commanded them to demolish the Place, and attend him to *Rome*, there to be made Citizens equally capable of all Priviledges: and indeed there was nothing did more advance the Greatness of *Rome*, than that she did always unite and incorporate whom she conquer'd into her self. *Romulus*, that he might perform his Vow in the most acceptable manner to *Jupiter*, and withal make the Pomp of it delightful to the eye of the City, cut down a tall Oak which he saw growing in the Camp, which he adorn'd like a Trophy, and fasten'd thereon *Acron*'s whole Suit of Armour, in its right symmetry of Parts; then he himself girding his Garment about him, and crowning his Head with a Laurel-Garland, his Hair gracefully flowing, carried the Trophy lying at length upon his right Shoulder, and so march'd on, singing Songs of Triumph, and his whole Army following after, the Citizens all receiving him with Acclamations of Joy and Wonder; the Pomp of this day was the cause, and rais'd the Emulation of all after-Triumphs. This Trophy was dedicated to *Jupiter* surnamed *Feretrinus*, from *ferire*,

ferire, which in *Latin* is to smite; for *Romulus* pray'd he might smite and overthrow his Enemy. These *Opima spolia*, or royal Spoyle, are so call'd (says *Varro*) from their Richness, which the word *Opes* signifies; tho' one would more probably conjecture from *Opus*, a *Deed* or *Act*; for when the General of an Army with his own hand kills his Enemy's General, to him alone is granted the Honour of offering the *Opima spolia*, as being the sole performer of that *Act* or *Deed* of Bravery. And on three only of the *Roman* Captains did this Honour ever happen to be conferr'd: First on *Romulus*, upon killing *Acron* the *Ceninensian*; next on *Cornelius Cossus*, for slaying *Volumnius* the *Thuscan*; and lastly on *Claudius Marcellus*, upon his Conquering *Viridomarus*, King of the *Gauls*. The two latter, *Cossus* and *Marcellus*, made their Entries in triumphant Chariots, bearing their Trophies themselves, but that *Romulus* made use of a Chariot, *Dionysius* is in the wrong; for History says, *Tarquinius*, *Damaratus*'s Son, was the first that brought Triumphs to this great Pomp and Grandeur; others, that *Publio-cola* was the first that rode in Triumph; however all the Statues of *Romulus* in Triumph are to be seen in *Rome* on Foot.

After the Overthrow of the *Ceninensians*, the *Sabines* still protracting the time in Preparations, the People of *Fidena*, *Crustumerium*, and *Antemna*, joyn'd their Forces against the *Romans*; Battel was no sooner joyn'd, but they were likewise immediately defeated, and surrendred up to *Romulus* their Cities to be spoil'd, their Lands and Territories to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to a Colony at *Rome*. All the Lands which *Romulus* acquir'd, he distributed among the Citizens, except only what the Parents of the stolen Virgins had, and them he suffer'd to possess their own: the rest of the *Sabines* being enraged hereat, choosing *Tatius* their Captain, march'd straight against *Rome*; the City was almost inaccessible, having for its Fortress that which is now the *Capitol*, where a strong Guard was placed, and *Tarpeius* was their Captain, not *Tarpeia* the Virgin, (as some say, who would make *Romulus* guilty of a foolish Action.) But still *Tarpeia*, the Captain's Daughter, coveting the Golden Bracelets she saw them wear, betrayed the Fort into the *Sabines* hands, and asked in reward of her Treachery, all they wore on their left Arms, *Tatius* conditioning thus with her, in the night she opened one of the Gates, and received the *Sabines* in: And truly (for ought

*The Sabines be-
siege Rome.*

*Tarpeia
betrays it.*

ought I see) it is not *Antigonus* alone that said, *He lov'd Betrayers, but hated them after they had betrayed*; nor *Cæsar*, when he told *Rhymitacles the Thracian*, that *He lov'd the Treason, but hated the Traitor*; but it is a general kind of Affection, all Men, who have occasion for wicked Persons, bear towards them; much such as they have for venomous Creatures, when they stand in need of their poyson and gall; for as they love them while they are of use, so they abhor their ill qualities when that is over. And thus did *Tatius* behave himself towards *Tarpeia*, for he commanded the *Sabines*, in regard to their Contract, not to refuse her the least part of what they wore on their left Arms; upon that he himself first took his Bracelet off his Arm, and threw that, together with his Buckler at her, and all the rest following, she, being born down and quite smother'd with the multitude of <sup>And is
kill'd in re-
compence.</sup> Gold and their Shields, died under the great weight and pressure of them; nay, *Tarpeius* himself being prosecuted by *Romulus*, was found guilty of Treason, as *Juba* says, *Sulpitius Galba* relates. Those who write otherwise concerning *Tarpeia*, as that she was the Daughter of *Tatius* the *Sabine Captain*, and being forcibly detain'd by *Romulus*, acted and suffer'd

thus by her Father's contrivance, speak very absurdly : Of whom *Antigonus* is one ; but *Smylus*, the Poet, of all Men, who thinks *Tarpeia* betrayed the *Capitol* not to the *Sabines*, but the *Gauls*, having fallen in Love with their King, does plainly dote. Thus he writes :

*Tarpeia 'twas, who dwelling close thereby,
Open'd the Walls of Rome to th' Enemy.
She hot in lust of the besieging Gaul,
Betray'd the City's Strength, the Capitol.*

And a little after speaking of her Death :

*But yet the Gauls, that strong and numerous
Foe,
Drown'd not the Traitors in the Waves of
Po,
But, with their Shields thrown on, her Body
overlaid,
So died, and was entomb'd at once the wretched
Maid.*

Tarpeia afterwards was buried there, and the Hill from her was call'd *Tarpeius*, until the Reign of King *Tarquin*, who dedicated the Place to *Jupiter*, at which time her Bones were removed, and so it lost her Name, except oniy that part of the *Capitol* which they still call the * *Tarpeian Rock*,

* *Tarpeia Rupes.*

Rock, from whence they are wont to cast down headlong Malefactors.

The *Sabines* being possess'd of the Hill, The Sabines and Romans Romulus in great fury bad them Battel, and Tatus put on the Courage to accept fight. it, perceiving, if they were so constrain'd, where he might make a secure Retreat. The Level in the middle, where they were to joyn Battel, being surrounded with many little Hills, seem'd to enforce both Parties to a smart and desperate Conflict, by reason of the Difficulties of the Place, which had but a few narrow Outlets, inconvenient either for refuge or pursuit. It happen'd too, the River having overflow'd not many days before, there was left behind in the Plain, where now the Market stands, a deep blind Mud and Slime, which tho' it did not appear much to the eye, and was not easily avoided, yet at bottom was very deceitful and dangerous; upon which the *Sabines* being unwarily about to enter, had good luck befel them; for *Curtius*, a Gallant Man, eager of Honour, and of aspiring thoughts, being mounted on Horse-back, gallop'd a good distance before the rest, but his Horse was mired, and he endeavour'd a while by Whip and Spur to disintangle him, but finding it impossible, he quitted his Horse, and saved himself; the

the Place from him to this very time is call'd the *Curtian Lake*. The *Sabines* having escaped this danger, began the Fight very smartly, the fortune of the day being very dubious, tho' many were slain; amongst whom was *Hostilius*, who, they say, was Husband to *Hersilia*, and Grand-father to that *Hostilius* who reign'd after *Numa*. It is probable there were many other Battels in a short time after, but the most memorable was the last, in which *Romulus* having receiv'd a Wound on his Head by a Stone, and being almost fell'd to the ground by it, and disabled to sustain the Enemy, the *Romans* upon that yielded ground, and being driven out of the Field, fled to the *Palatium*. *Romulus* by this time recovering his Wound a little, running upon his Men in flight, remanded them to their Arms again, and with a loud voice encouraged them to stand and fight. But being overpow'r'd with the number, and no body daring to face about, he stretching out his hands to Heaven, pray'd to *Jupiter* to stop the Army, and not to neglect but rather maintain the *Roman* Cause, which was now in extream danger. This Prayer both wrought a great Reverence in many for their Prince, and a strange resolution too on the sudden in their minds. The

Place

Place they first stood at, was, where now is the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, (which may be interpreted the *Stayer*) there they rallied their Forces, and repuls'd the *Sabines* even to the Place call'd now *Rhegia*, and the *Temple of Vesta*; where both Parties preparing to renew the Fight, were prevented by a strange and unexpressible <sup>Are parted
by the Wo-
men.</sup> sight; for the Daughters of the *Sabines* which were formerly stolen, came running, in great confusion, some on this side, some on that, with miserable cryes and lamentations, like distracted Creatures, into the midst of the Army, and among the dead Bodies, to come at their Husbands and at their Fathers, some with their young Babes in their Arms, others their Hair loose about their Ears, but all calling now upon the *Sabines*, then upon the *Ramans*, in the most tender and endearing words. Hereupon both melted into compassion, and fell back, that they might stand betwixt the Armies. Now did a strange lamentation seize all, and great grief was conceiv'd at the sight of the Women, and at their Speech much more, which from Expostulations and high words, ended in Entreaties and Supplications.

Wherin (say they) have we injured or offended you, that we formerly have, and now do suffer under these Calamities? We were ravish'd

ravish'd away unjustly and violently by those whose now we are; that being done, we were so long neglected by our Fathers, our Brethren, and Countrymen, that time, having now by the strictest bonds united us to those whom we once mortally hated, has brought it about, that the very Men, who once used violence to us, we now have a tenderness for in War, and lament their deaths. So that you do not now come to vindicate our Honour, as Virgins, from them that injured us, but to force away Wives from their Husbands, and Mothers from their Children, making this your rescue more grievous to us Wretches, than your former betraying and neglect of us was; so great is their Love towards us, and such your Compassion; if you make War upon any other occasion, for our sakes you ought to desist, who are our Fathers, our Grandfathers, our Relations, and Kindred; if for us, take us and your Sons-in-law, and restore us to our Parents and Kinsfolk, but do not rob us (we humbly beseech you) of our Children and Husbands, lest we again become Captives. *Hersilia* having spoken many such words as these, and others earnestly praying, a Truce was made, and the chief Officers came to a Treaty, the Women, during that time, brought and presented their Husbands and Children to their Fathers and Brethren; gave those, that would

would eat, Meat and Drink; and carried the wounded home to be cured; and shewed also how much they govern'd within doors, and how indulgent their Husbands were to 'em, in demeaning themselves towards 'em with all kindness and respect imaginable. Upon this, Conditions were agreed upon, that what Women pleas'd might stay where they were, exempt from all drudgery and labour but Spinning; that the *Romans* and *Sabines* should inhabit the City promiscuously together; that the City should be call'd *Rome* from *Romulus*, but the *Romans*, *Quirites*, from the Countrey of *Tatius*; and that they both should govern and command in common: The Place of this Ratification is still call'd *Comitium*, from *Coire to agree*. The City being thus doubled in number, an 100 of the *Sabines* were elected *Senators*, and the Legions were increas'd to 6000 Foot, and 600 Horse; then they divided the People into three Tribes; the first, from *Romulus*, were named *Rhamnenses*; the second, from *Tatius*, *Tatienses*; the third were call'd *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* or Grove where the *Asylum* stood, whither many fled for Sanctuary, and were received into the City; and that they were just three, the very Name of *Tribe* and *Tribune* does testifie; each

*A Peace
made.*

*The city
settled.*

each *Tribe* contained then ten *Curiæ* or *Wards*, which, some say, took their Names from the *Sabine Women*; but that seems to be false, because many had their Names from different Regions. Tho', 'tis true, they then constituted many things in honour to the Women: As to give them the way where-ever they met them; to speak no ill word in their presence; nor to appear naked before them; that they should not be summon'd into Court before a Judge sitting on Cases of Blood; that their Children should wear an Ornament about their Necks call'd the *Bulla*, (because it was like a *Bubble*) and the *Prætexta*, a Garment edged with purple.

The Princes did not immediately joyn in Council together, but at first each met with his own Hundred, afterwards all assembled together. *Tatius* dwelt where now the Temple of *Moneta* stands; and *Romulus* close by the * Steps, as they call them, of the fair Shore, near the descent from the Mount *Palatine* to the *Circus Maximus*. There, they say, grew the *Holy Cornel-Tree*, of which, they report, that *Romulus* once to try his strength, threw a Dart from the *Aventine Mount*, (the Staff of which was made of *Cornel*) which struck so deep into the Ground, that no one, of many that tryed, could pluck

* ὁδοί^{οι}
βαθύς
ργάνης
επαντίς.

pluck it up : Now the Soyl, being fertil, nourished the Wood, and sent forth Branches, and produced a Trunk of considerable bigness ; this did Posterity preserve and worship as one of the most Sacred things, and therefore wall'd it about, and if to any one it appear'd not green nor flourishing, but inclining to fade and wither, he presently made outcry to all he met, and they with one accord cryed for Water, as in a Fire, and would run from all Parts with Buckets full to the place. But, they say, when *Caius Cæsar* was repairing the Steps about it, some of the Labourers digging too close, the Root corrupted, and the Tree quite withered.

The *Sabines* received the use of *Roman* The rise of Months : Of which, what-ever is remarkable, is mention'd in the Life of *Numa*. Several Customs and Feasts. *Romulus* again took up their manner of Shields, for which he exchanged both his own and all the *Romans* Armour, who before wore small Targets, after the manner of the *Argives*. But for Feasts and Sacrifices, they partaked of them in common, not abolishing any either Nation observ'd before, and instituting several new ones : Of which one was the *Matronalia*, instituted in honour of the Women, for their dissolving the War. As likewise the *Carmentalia* : This *Carmenta*, some think a Destiny

Destiny presiding over the Generation of Men, wherefore Mothers much revere and worship her. Others say, she was the Wife of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, being a Prophetess, and wont to deliver her Oracles in Verse, and from *Carmen* a Verse, was call'd *Carmenta*, whereas it is generally confess'd her proper Name was *Nicostrata*. Others more probably derive *Carmenta* from *Carens mente*, as being bereft of her wits, by reason of her wild Enthusiasms. Of the Feast of *Palilia*, we have spoke before. The *Lupercalia*, by the time of its Celebration, may seem to be a Feast of Purification, for it is solemnized on the *Diès nefasti*, or non-Court-days of the month *February*, which a Man may interpret Purifying, and the very day of the Feast was anciently call'd *Februaca*: But the Name of it in Greek signifies as much as the Feast of * Wolves, and it seems upon this account to be of great Antiquity, and brought in by the *Arcadians* who came with *Evander*. But this is a trivial Fancy, for it may come as well from the Wolf that nursed *Romulus*, and we see the *Luperci*, the Priests, do begin their Course from the place where they say *Romulus* was exposed. But the Ceremonies that then pass, render the Original of the thing more difficult to be guess'd at; for there

* *Aurelia*.

are Goats kill'd, then two young Noblemen's Sons being brought, some are to stain their Foreheads with the bloody Knife, others presently to wipe it off with Wooll dipt in Milk; then the young Boys must laugh after their Foreheads are wiped; that done, having cut the Goats skins into Thongs, they run about naked, only with something about their middle, lashing all they meet; the young Wives do never avoid their strokes, fancying it does help Conception and Child-birth. Another thing is proper to this Feast, for the *Luperci* to Sacrifice a Dog. *Butas*, a certain Poet, who writ a fabulous account of the *Roman* Customs in Elegies, says, that *Romulus*, after the Conquest of *Amulius*, ran joyfully to the Place where the Wolf gave them suck, and that in imitation of that, this Feast was, and that two young Noblemen ran:

*Striking at all, as when from Alba Town,
Romulus and Remus with their Swords did
run,*

And that the bloody Knife applied to their Foreheads, was a sign of the danger they were then in of being slain, and the cleansing of them in Milk, was in remembrance of their Food and Nourishment.

O,

But

But *Caius Aulus* writes, that before the City was built, the Cattel of *Romulus* and *Remus* on a day going astray, they, praying to the God *Faunus*, ran about to seek them naked, that they might not be troubled with sweat, and that for that Reason the *Luperci* run Naked. And if this Sacrifice be by way of Purification, a Man might guess they used a Dog for that very purpose; for the *Græcians* in their Lustrations, or Sacrifices of Purging, do carry out Dogs, and evermore use that Ceremony they call, περσκυλαχισμος, or a Sacrificing of a Dog. But if they perform this as an act of Gratitude to the Wolf, that nourish'd and preserv'd *Romulus*, they do not absurdly in killing a Dog, as being an Enemy to Wolves, unless it is perhaps for hindering the *Luperci* when they run.

They say too, *Romulus* was the first that consecrated holy Fire, and instituted holy Virgins, call'd *Vestals*; others ascribe it to *Numa Pompilius*; nevertheless they write, *Romulus* was otherwise eminently religious, and well skill'd in the Art of Prophecying, and upon that carri'd a *Lituus*, which is a crooked Rod, where-with the Soothsayers describe the Quarters of the Heavens. This of his, being kept in the *Palatium*, was lost when the City was taken by the *Gauls*, and afterwards

wards that barbarous People being driven out, was found in the Ruines under a great heap of Rubbish, untouched by the fire, all things about it being consumed and burnt. He constituted also certain Laws, one whereof is somewhat severe, which suffers not a Wife to leave her Husband, but grants a Husband to turn off his Wife, either upon poysoning her Children, or counterfeiting his Keys, or Adultery; but if the Husband upon any other occasion put her away, he ordered one moiety of his Estate to be given to the Wife, the other to fall to the Goddess *Ceres*; and who-ever did cast off his Wife, to make an Atonement by Sacrifice to the **Gods of the Earth*. This too is observable as a singular thing in *Romulus*, that he appointed no punishment for real Parricide, but call'd all Murder so, thinking the latter a detestable sin, but the other impossible, and for a long time he seem'd to have rightly thought such a sin could never be, for in almost 600 years together, no body committed the like in *Rome*; and *Lucius Ostius*, after the Wars of *Hannibal*, is recorded to have been the first Parricide. But let thus much suffice concerning these Matters.

In the 5th year of the Reign of *Tatius*, The occasion of the death of Tatius. some of his Friends and Kinsmen meeting

Ambassadors coming from *Laurentum* to *Rome*, attempted on the Road to take away their Money by force, which they not suffering, but defending themselves, they kill'd them. So great a Villany being acted, *Romulus* thought it fitting presently to punish the Malefactors; but *Tatius* shuffled off and deferr'd the execution of it; and this only thing was the first beginning of an open Quarrel betwixt them, for otherwise they carried themselves fairly one to another, and administred Affairs together with the greatest unanimity. The Relations of them that were slain, being debarr'd of Justice by reason of *Tatius*, fell upon him as he was sacrificing with *Romulus* at *Lavinium*, and slew him, commending and extolling *Romulus* for a just Prince. *Romulus* took the Body of *Tatius*, and buried it very splendidly in the *Aventine Mount*, near the Place call'd *Armillarium*, but altogether neglected revenging his Murder. Some Authors write, the City of *Laurentum*, fearing the consequence, delivered up the Murderers of *Tatius*; but *Romulus* pas'd it over, saying, One Murder was requited with another. This gave occasion of Talk and Jealousie, as if he were well pleas'd at the removal of his Copartner in the Government. Nothing of these things either disturbed or rais'd any

any Feud among the *Sabines*, but some out of love to him, others out of fear of his Power, some again reverencing him as a God, they all lived peacefully in admiration and awe of him; many foreign Nations too did much admire *Romulus*; the ancient *Latines* they sent, and enter'd into League and Confederacy with him. *Fidenæ* he took, a neighbouring City to *Rome*, by a Party of Horse, as some say, whom *Romulus* takes Fidenæ. he sent before with Commands to cut down the Hinges of the Gates, and he himself afterwards unexpectedly came upon them. Others say, they having first made the Invasion, in foraging and spoiling the Country and Suburbs, *Romulus* lay in ambush for them, and so having kill'd many of their Men, took the City; nevertheless he did not raze or demolish it, but made it a *Roman* Colony, and sent thither on the Ides of April 2500 Inhabitants. Presently after a Plague broke out, which kill'd suddenly without any manner of Sickness; it infected also the Corn with Unfruitfulness, and Cattel with Barrenness; there rained Blood too in the City, insomuch as besides the Evils which came of consequence, Men dreaded the wrath of the Gods. But when the same Mischiefs fell upon *Laurentum*, then every body judged it was divine Vengeance that fell

upon both Cities, for the neglect of executing Justice, upon the Murder of *Tatius* and the Ambassadors. But the Murderers on both sides being deliver'd up and punish'd, the Pestilence visibly abated, and *Romulus* purified the Cities with Lustrations, which, they say, even now are perform'd at the Gate call'd *Ferentina*. But before the Plague ceased, the *Camerians* invaded the *Romans*, and over-ran the Country, thinking, by reason of the Distemper, they were unable to withstand them; but *Romulus* presently made Head against them, and gain'd the Victory, with the slaughter of *Cameria*is 6000 Men; he then took their City, and brought half of them he found there to *Rome*, and sent from *Rome* to *Cameria* double the number he left there. This was done the first of *August*; so many Citizens had he to spare, in 16 years time he inhabited *Rome*. Among other Spoyle he took a brazen Chariot from *Cameria*, which he placed in the Temple of *Vulcan*, adding thereon his own Statue crown'd with Victory.

The *Roman* Cause thus daily gathering strength, the weaker Neighbours submitted, and willingly embrac'd security; the stronger, out of Fear or Envy, thought they ought not to give way to *Romulus*, but to curb him, and put a stop to his Greatnes.

The Veientes subdued.

Greatness. The first were the *Veientes*, a People of *Thuscany*, who had large Possessions, and dwelt in a spacious City ; they took an occasion to commence a War, upon remanding of *Fidenæ*, as belonging to them ; this was not only unreasonable, but very ridiculous, that they who did not assist them in the greatest Extremities of War, but permitted them to be slain, should Challenge their Lands and Houses, when in the hands of others. But being scornfully retorted upon by *Romulus* in his Answers, they divided themselves into two Bodies ; with one they attack'd the Garrison of *Fidenæ*, the other march'd against *Romulus* ; that which went against *Fidenæ*, got the Victory, and slew 2000 *Romans* ; the other was worsted by *Romulus*, with the loss of 8000 Men. They afterwards fought near *Fidenæ*, and all Men acknowledge the greatest Actions of the day were done by *Romulus* himself, who shewed all manner of Skill as well as Courage, and seem'd to perform with strength and swiftness more than humane. But what some write, that of 14000 that fell that day, above half were slain by *Romulus's* own hand, is both very fabulous, and altogether incredible : Such an Ostentation do the *Messenians* make of *Aristomenes*, who, they

say, offer'd 300 Victims for as many *Lacedæmonians* he himself slew. The Army being thus Routed, *Romulus* suffering those that were left to make their escape, drew up his Forces against the City ; they, having suffer'd such great damages, did not venture to oppose him, but humbly suing to him, contracted a League and Friendship for 100 years ; but he nevertheless divested them of a great quantity of Lands, call'd *Septimagium*, which was the 7th part of their Patrimony ; as also of several Salt-springs upon the River, and took Fifty Noblemen for Hostages. He made his Triumph for this on the *Ides of October*, Leading, among the rest of his many Captives, the General of the *Veientes*, an ancient Man, but one who seem'd to have managed his Affairs imprudently, and unbecoming of his Age ; whence even now in Sacrifices for Victories, they lead an Old Man through the Market-place to the *Capitol*, apparell'd in Purple, with a *Bulla* or Child's Toy tyed to it, and the Cryer cryes, *Sardianians* to be Sold ; for the *Thuscans* are said to be a Colony of the *Sardianians*, and the *Veientes* are a City of *Thuscany*.

This was the last Battel *Romulus* ever fought ; afterwards he, as most, nay all Men, very few excepted, do, who are rai-
sed

sed by great and miraculous good-haps
of Fortune to Power and Greatness: So,
I say, did he; for relying upon his own
great Actions, and growing of an haugh-
tier mind, he forsook his popular Behavi-
our, and took upon him in exchange a
strange Lordliness, which was odious and
intolerable to the People. And first, upon
the Habit he chose to wear; for he dress'd
in Scarlet with Purple Robes over it, then
he gave Audience in a Chair of State, ha-
ving always about him some young Boys
call'd * *Celeres*, from their swiftness in do-
ing business; there went before him o-
thers with Staves to make room, with se-
veral Cords about them, presently to bind
whom ever he Commanded. Now the
Latines formerly used *ligare*, as now *alli-
gare*, to bind, whence the *Lictors* were so
call'd, and the Rods they carried were
called *Fasces*; but it is probable they were
first call'd *Litores*, afterwards by putting
in a C, *Lictores*, for they are the same the
Gæcians call *λεῖτρης*, or Officers for the
People; and the *Grætians* do still call the
People in general, *ληῖτρος*, and the common
people, *λαός*.

Romulus
grows insolu-
lent.

* *Celer,*
swift.

When after the death of his Grandfa-
ther *Numitor* in *Alba*, that Kingdom devolv'd upon *Romulus*, he put the Govern-
ment into the hands of Magistrates, and
elected

Offends the Senate. elected yearly one to superintend the *Sabinæ*. But that taught the Senators of *Rome* to seek after a free and Anti-monarchical State, wherein all might share in the Rule and Government. For the *Patricians*, (as they call them,) were not now concern'd in State-Affairs, only had the Name and Title left them, convening in Council rather for fashion-sake than Advice, where they in silence heard the King's Commands, and so departed, exceeding the Commonalty only in this, that they heard first what was done. These and the like were Matters of small moment; but when he of his own accord parted among his Souldiers what Lands were acquired by War, and restored the *Venientes* their Hostages, the Senate neither consenting nor approving of it, then indeed he seem'd to put a great Affront upon them; whereupon, he suddenly disappearing a short while after, the Senate fell under shrew'd Suspicions and Calumnies. He disappear'd on the *Nones* of *July*, as they now call the Month, which was then *Quintilis*, leaving nothing of certainty to be related of his Death, only the time, as you hear: for there are now upon that day many Ceremonies perform'd in resemblance of that Misfortun. Neither is this uncertainty to be thought strange.

Dies.

strange, seeing the manner of the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, who died at his own home after Supper, is neither much credited nor disprov'd, for, some say, he died easily and suddenly, as it were of his own accord, being naturally a sickly Man; others, that he poyson'd himself; others again, that his Enemies breaking in upon him in the night stifled him. *Scipio* too, when he was dead, lay open to be seen of all, and indeed his Body gave some suspicion, and a reasonable discovery of the Fact; but of *Romulus*, when he vanish'd, was neither the least part of his Body, or rag of his Cloaths to be seen. So that some fancied, the Senators having fallen upon him, cut his Body into pieces, and each took a part away in his bosom; others think, his disappearance was neither in the *Temple of Vulcan*, nor with the Senators only by; but that it happen'd, as he was harranguing the People without the City, near a Place call'd the * *Goats Marsh*, on the sudden most wonderful Disorders and Alterations beyond expression rose in the Air, for the face of the Sun was darkned, and the day was turn'd into an unquiet and turbulent night, made up of terrible Thunderings, and boisterous Winds raising Tempests from all Quarters, which scattered the Rabble and made them fly, but the Senators

Several O-
pinions of
his Death.

* Arg's.
1805.

tors kept close together. The Tempest being over, and the light breaking out, when the People gather'd again, they miss'd and enquir'd for their King ; but the Senators would not let them search, or busie themselves about the Matter, but commanded them to honour and worship *Romulus*, as one taken up to the Gods, and about to be to them, of a good Prince, now a propitious God. The Multitude hearing this, went away rejoicing and worshipping him, in hopes of good things from him ; but there were some who canvassing the Matter more severely and rigorously, accus'd and aspers'd the *Patricians*, as Men that perswaded the People to believe ridiculous Tales, when they themselves were the Murderers of the King.

Julius Proculus de cides the Matter. Things being in this disorder, one, they say, of the *Patricians*, of a Noble Family, and most honest Conversation, and withal a most faithful and familiar Friend of *Romulus* himself, who came with him from *Alba*, *Julius Proculus* by Name, stepping into the Company, and taking a most sacred Oath, protested before them all, that *Romulus* appear'd to, and met him travelling on the Road, comlier and fairer than ever, dress'd in shining and flaming Armour ; and he being affrighted at the Apparition, said, Upon what Occasion or Resentments,

sentments, O King, did you leave us here, liable to most unjust and wicked Surmises, and the whole City destitute, in most bitter Sorrow? And that he made Answer: It pleas'd the Gods, O Proculus, we should remain so long a time amongst Men as we did, and having built a City, the greatest in the World both in Empire and Glory, we should again return to Heaven; but farewell, and tell the Romans, that by the exercise of Temperance and Fortitude, they shall far exceed all humane Power, and we will be to you the propitious God Quirinus. This seem'd very credible to the Romans, both upon the Honesty and Oath of him that spoke it, and a certain divine Passion, like an Enthusiasm, seized on all Men, for no body contradicted it, but laying aside all Jealousies and Detractions, they prayed to Quirinus, and saluted him God.

This is like some of the Græcian Fables of Aristeas the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes the Astypalæian; for, they say, Aristeas died in a Fuller's Work-house, and, his Friends coming to him, his Body vanish'd; and that some presently after coming a Journey, said, they met him travelling towards Croton. And that Cleomedes, being an extraordinary strong and gyantic Man, and withal crazed and mad, committed many desperate Freaks: At last in a certain

tain School-house, striking a Pillar, that sustain'd the Roof, with his Fist, broke it in the middle, so the House fell and destroyed the Children in it; and being pursued, he fled into a great Chest, and shutting to the Lid, held it so fast, that many Men with all their strength could not force it open; afterwards breaking the Chest to pieces, they found no Man in it alive or dead; at which being astonish'd, they sent to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*; to whom the Prophetess made this Answer:

Of all the Heroes, Cleomedes is last.

They say too, the Body of *Alomena*, as she was carrying to her Grave, vanish'd, and a Stone was found lying on the Bier. And many such Improbabilities do your fabulous Writers relate, deifying Creatures naturally mortal; tho' altogether to disown a Divine Power, is an unholy and disingenuous thing; so again to mix Heaven and Earth, is as ridiculous; therefore we must reject such Vanities, being assur'd that, according to *Pindar*,

*All humane Bodies yield to Deaths decree,
The Soul survives to all eternity.*

For

For that alone is deriv'd from the Gods, thence it comes, and thither it returns: not with the Body, but when it is most free and separated from it, and is altogether pure and clean, and disengag'd from the flesh; for the dry Soul (as Heraclitus phrases it) is best, which flies out of the Body, as Lightning breaks from a Cloud; but that which is clogg'd and incumber'd with the Body, is like a gross and cloudy Vapour, hard to be kindled and mount on high. We must not therefore, contrary to Nature, send the Bodies too of good Men to Heaven; but again we must really believe that, according to a Divine Nature and Justice, their vertuous Souls are translated out of Men into Heroes; out of Heroes into demi-Gods; out of demi-Gods, (if they are, as by expiation, perfectly purg'd and sanctified, and disburden'd of all Passions attending Mortality) they are, not as in any humane Polity alter'd, but really and according to right Reason chang'd and translated into Gods, receiving the greatest and most blessed perfection.

Romulus his surname *Quirinus*, some say, signifies as much as *Mars* or *Warlike*; others, that he was so call'd, because the Citizens were call'd *Quirites*; others, because the Ancients call'd a Dart or Spear *Quiris*,

*Why Ro-
mulus was
call'd Qui-
rinus.*

Quiris, for the Statue of *Juno* placed on a Spear was call'd *Quiritis*, and the Dart in the King's Palace was call'd *Mars*, and those that behav'd themselves valiantly in War, were usually presented with a Dart, and that therefore *Romulus*, being a *Martial God*, or a *God of Darts*, was call'd *Quirinus*; and there is a Temple built to his Honour on a Mount call'd from him *Quirinalis*.

* *Nives* *Kampali-* The day he vanish'd on, is call'd the *Flight of the Rabble*, or the * *Nones of the Goats*, because they go then out of the City, and Sacrifice at the *Goats-Marsh*, and as they go, they call out loudly upon the Names of some of their Compatriots, as *Marcellus* and *Caius*, imitating how they then fled, and call'd upon one another in that Fright and Hurry. Some say, this was not in imitation of a Flight, but of a quick and hasty Onset, giving this account of it: After the *Gauls*, who had taken *Rome*, were driven out by *Camillus*, and the City had not as yet recover'd her strength, many of the *Latines*, under the Command of *Livius Posthumius*, took this time to march against her. The Army sitting down before *Rome*, an Herald was sent, signifying that the *Latines* were desirous to renew their former Alliance and Affinity (that was now almost decayed) by contracting

tracting new Marriages between both Nations ; if therefore they would send forth a good number of their Virgins and Widows, they should settle into a Peace and Friendship, as they formerly did with the *Sabines* upon the like Conditions. The *Romans* hearing this, they both dreaded a War, yet thought a Surrender of their Women little better than a meer Captivity. Being in this doubt, a Servant-Maid, call'd *Philotis*, (or as some say, *Teutola*) advis'd them to do neither, but rather, by a Stratagem, both to avoid Fighting, and the giving up of such Pledges. The Stratagem was this, that they should send her self, with a company of handsom Wenchess well dress'd, to the Enemy, instead of Free-born Virgins, and she would in the Night light up a Torch, at which the *Romans* should come arm'd and surprize them asleep. The *Latines* were thus deceiv'd, and accordingly *Philotis* set up a Torch in a Wild *Fig-tree*, skreening it behind with Curtains and Coverlets from the sight of the Enemy : But it was plain to the *Romans* : when they saw it, they ran furiously together out of the Gates, hastening one another what they could, so falling in unexpectedly upon the Enemy, they defeated them. Upon that they made a Feast of Triumph, call'd the *Nones of the Goats*,

Goats, because of the wild Fig-Tree, call'd by the *Romans*, *Caprificus*, or the Goat-Fig ; and they Feast the Women without the City in Arbors made of Fig-Tree boughs, and the Maids meet and run about playing ; afterwards they Fight in Sport, and throw Stones one at another, in memory they did then aid and assist the *Roman Men* in Fight. This many Authors do not admit for true : For the calling upon one anothers Names by day, and the going out to the *Goats-Marsh*, as to Sea, seems to agree more to the former Relation , unless perhaps both the Actions, done at several times, might have happen'd on the same day of the Week.

How old he was when he died. Now, they say, it was in the 54th year of his Age, and the 38th of his Reign, that *Romulus* left the World.

The Comparison of Romulus and Theseus.

THIS is all I ever happen'd to hear of *Romulus* and *Theseus*, worthy of memory. First, *Theseus* seem'd, out of his own free-will, without any compulsion when he might have Reign'd in security at *Trazene*, in the enjoyment of no inglorious Empire, to have affected great Actions by himself. The other to escape present Servitude, and a punishment that threaten-

nied him, (according to *Plato*) grew valiant purely out of fear: and dreading the extreamest Inflictions, attempted great Enterprizes out of meer necessity. Again, His greatest Action was only the killing of one King of *Alba*; whereas the by-Adventures and Preludes of the other were the Conquests of *Sciron*, *Scinnis*, *Procrustes* and *Corynetes*; by reducing and killing of whom, he ridded *Greece* of very violent Oppressors, before any of them that were relieved, knew who did it; and he might then without any trouble as well have gone to *Athens* by Sea, considering he himself never was in the least injured by those Robbers; whereas *Romulus* could not but be in Action whilst *Amulius* lived. A great testimony of this is, that *Theseus*, for no wrong done himself, but for the sake of others, did fall upon these Villains; but *Romulus* and *Remus*, as long as they themselves suffer'd no ill by the Tyrant, permitted him to oppress all others. And if it be a great thing to have been wounded in Battel by the *Sabines*, to have kill'd King *Acron*, and to have conquer'd many Enemies; we may oppose to these Actions, the Battel with the *Centaurs*, and the Feats done against the *Amazons*. But what *Theseus* adventur'd, in offering himself voluntarily with the other young Boys and Vir-

gins, as part of the Tribute into Crete, either to be a Prey to a Monster, or a Victim upon the Tomb of *Androgeus*, or, what is least of all, to live vilely and dishonourably in slavery to insulting and cruel Men; a Man cannot express what an Act of Boldness, or Courage, or Justice to the Publick, or of Honour and Bravery, that was. So that methinks the Philosophers did not define Love ill, to be *the service of the Gods in assisting and preserving Youth*; for the Love of *Ariadne*, above all, seems to be the proper work and design of some God, in order to preserve *Theseus*; and indeed we ought not to blame her for loving him, but rather wonder all Men and Women were not alike affected towards him; and if she alone were so, truly I dare pronounce her worthy of the Love of a God, who was her self so great a Lover of Virtue and Goodness, and the bravest Man.

But both these naturally affecting Government, neither liv'd up to the true Character of a King, but flew off, and ran, one into Popularity, the other into Tyranny, falling both into the same fault out of different Passions. For a Prince's chief end is to preserve his Empire, which is done no less by avoiding Indecencies, than by maintaining a decorum in all things:

things : Who-ever is either too remiss or too strict in this, is no more a King or a Prince, but either too popular a Man, or too lordly, and so becomes either odious or contemptible to his Subjects. This seems to be the fault of Easiness and good Nature, the other of Pride and Severity ; but if we must not in all respects impute Misfortunes to the Fates, but consider in them the difference of Mens Manners and Passions, as the unreasonable and inconsiderate effects of Wrath and Anger, a Man can neither excuse one in his Behaviour to his Brother, nor the other to his Son. Tho' the Anger of *Theseus* is more excusable, because it proceeded from a greater Cause, as being struck with the severer Lash. *Romulus*, having disagreed with his Brother, advisedly and deliberately upon the Concerns of the Publick, one would think, he could not of the sudden have been put into so great Passion ; but Love, and Jealousie, and the Complaints of his Wife, (which few Men can avoid being provoked with) seduced *Theseus* to commit that Outrage upon his Son. And what is more, *Romulus* in his Anger committed an Action of most unfortunate Consequence ; but that of *Theseus* ended only in words, some evil-speaking, and a few old Peoples Curses, the rest of the

Youth's misery seems to proceed from Fortune; so that so far a Man would give his Vote on *Theseus's* part. But the chiefest matter in the other, is this, that his performances proceeded from very small beginnings; for both the Brothers being thought Servants, and the Sons of Swineherds, before they were Free-men themselves, they gave liberty to almost all the *Latines*, obtaining at once all the most honourable Titles, as destroyers of their Countreys Enemies, preservers of their Friends and Kindred, Princes of the People, Founders, not Removers of Cities; for such a one was *Theseus*, who raised and compiled only one House out of many, demolishing many Cities bearing the Names of ancient Kings and Heroes. But *Romulus* did the same afterwards, forcing his Enemies to deface and rujne their own Dwellings, and to sojourn with their Conquerors; not altering at first, or increasing a City that was before, but building one from the ground, acquiring likewise to himself, Lands, a Countrey, a Kingdom, Wives, Children, and Relations. He kill'd or destroy'd no body, but encouraged those that wanted Houses and Dwelling-places; if willing to be of a Society, and become Citizens, Robbers and Malefactors he slew not, but he subdued Nations,

Nations, he overthrew Cities, he Triumph'd over Kings and Princes; and as to *Remus*, it is doubtful by whose Hand he was cut off, it is generally imputed to others. His Mother he apparently retriev'd from death, and placed his Grand-father, who was brought under base and dishonourable Vassalage, in the ancient Throne of *Aeneas*, to whom he did voluntarily many good Offices, but never annoyed him, no not through ignorance it self. But *Theseus*, in his forgetfulness and inadvertency of the Command concerning the Flag, can scarcely methinks by any Excuses, or before the most Candid Judges, avoid the imputation of Parricide; which a certain Athenian perceiving it very hard to make an excuse for, feigns that *Aegeus*, at the arrival of the Ship, running hastily to a Tower to see what News, slip'd and fell down, either for want of accidental help, or that no Servants attended him in that haste to the Sea side. And indeed those faults committed in the Rapes of Women, admit of no plausible excuse in *Theseus*: First, in regard to the often repetition of the Crime; for he stole *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, *Anaxo* the *Trazenian*, at last *Helena*, when he was an Old Man, and she not Marriageable, being

too young and tender, and he at an Age past even lawful Wedlock. Then the Cause; for the *Trajanian*, *Locedæmonian*, and *Amazonian* Virgins, beside that they were not betrothed to him, were not worthier to raise Children by, than the *Athenians*, who were derived from *Erestheus* and *Cecrops*; but it is to be suspected, these things were done out of Lust, and the satisfaction of the flesh. *Romulus* when he had taken near Eight Hundred Women, he chose not all, but only *Hersilia* (as they say) for himself, the rest he divided among the Chief of the City; and afterwards, by the respect, and tenderness, and justice shewn towards them, he discover'd, that this Violence and Injury, was a most commendable and politick Exploit to establish a Society; by which he intermix'd and united both Nations, and made it the fountain of all after Friendship, and of Power with them. And that it was the Cause of Reverence, and Love, and Constancy in Matrimony, time can witness; for in 230 years neither any Husband deserted his Wife, nor any Wife her Husband; but, as the most Curious among the *Græcians* can tell you the first Parricide, so the *Romans* all well know, *Spurius Carvilius* was the first who put away his Wife, accusing her of Barrenness.

renness. The Circumstances of Matters do testifie for so long a time; for upon those Marriages, the two Princes shar'd in the Dominion, and both Nations fell under the same Government. But from the Marriages of *Theseus* proceeded nothing of Friendship or Correspondence for the advantage of Commerce, but Enmities and Wars, and the Slaughter of Citizens, and at last the loss of the City *Aphidnae*, where, only out of the compassion of the Enemy, whom they entreated and caressed like Gods, they but just miss'd suffering, what *Troy* did by *Paris*. *Theseus* his Mother was not only in danger, but suffer'd also what *Hecuba* did, in being deserted and destitute of her Son; unless that of her Captivity be not a fiction, as I could wish both that and most other things of him were. What is fabulously related concerning both their Divinity, you will find a great difference in it; for *Romulus* was preserved by the special Favour of the Gods; but the Oracle given to *Aegeus*, commanding him to abstain from all strange and foreign Women, seems to demonstrate, that the Birth of *Theseus* was not agreeable to the Will of the Gods.

THE
LIFE
OF
LYCURGUS.

Translated from the Greek of *Plutarch*,
By *Knightly Chetwood*, Fellow of King's
College in *Cambridge*.

There is so much uncertainty in the accounts which Historians have left us of *Lycurgus*, the Law-giver of *Sparta*, that scarcely any thing is asserted by one of them which is not call'd into question, or contradicted by the rest. Their Sentiments are quite different as to the Family he came of, the Voyages he undertook, the place, and manner of his death, but

ad pag: 129.

LYCURGUS.



Equality.

Nburg. delin. et sculp.



but most of all when they speak of the Laws he made, and the Commonwealth which he founded. They cannot by any means be brought to an agreement as to the very Age in which this excellent person liv'd, for some of them say that he flourished in the time of *Iphitus*, and that they two jointly contrived the Ordinance for the cessation of Arms during the Solemnity of the *Olympick Games*. Of this opinion was *Aristotle*, and for confirmation of it he alledges an Inscription upon one of the copper Coits used in those Sports, upon which the name of *Lycurgus* continued undefac'd to his time. But *Eratosthenes* and *Appollodorus*, two learned Chronologers, computing the time by the successions of the *Spartan Kings*, pretend to demonstrate that he was much more ancient than the very Institution of the *Olympick Games*. *Timæus* conjectures that there were two of this name, and in diverse times, but that the one of them being much more famous than the other, men gave to him the glory of both their exploits: the elder of the two, according to him, was not long after *Homer*, and some are so particular as to say that he had seen him too. But that he was of great antiquity may be gathered from a passage in * *Xenophon*, where he makes him

* Lib. de
Laced. Rep.
con-

contemporary with the *Heraclidæ*: not but that the very last Kings of *Sparta* were *Heraclidæ* too; but he seems in that place to speak of the first, and more immediate successors of *Hercules*. But notwithstanding this confusion and obscurity of Writers who have gone before us in this Subject, we shall endeavour to compose the History of his

^{* This was} ^{the first} Life, setting down those passages which ^{Life that} are least contradicted, and following those ^{Plutarch} Authors which are most worthy of credit.

^{publish'd,} ^{and he} The Poet *Simonides* will needs have it ^{seems to} that *Lycurgus* was the Son of *Prytanis*, and ^{have a par-} ^{not of *Eunomus*}; but in this opinion he is ^{ticular re-} ^{sped to this} singular, for all the rest deduce the Genealogy of them both as follows:

^{writing a} Book of

their wise *Aristodemus*,

Sayings.

Patrocles,

Sous,

Eurition,

{ *Prytanis,*

Eunomus, who by his first Wife had a Son nam'd *Polydecles*, and by his second Wife, *Dianissa*, had this *Lycurgus*,

whose Life is before us: but as *Eutychidas* says, he was the sixth from *Patrocles*, and the eleventh from *Hercules*. Be this as it will, *Sous* certainly was the most renown'd of all his Ancestours, under whose conduct the *Spartans* subdued *Ilotos*, and made Slaves of the *Ilotes*, and added to their Dominions,

Dominions, by Conquest, a good part of *Arcadia*. There goes a story of this King *Sous*, that being besieged by the *Clitorians* in a dry and stony place, so that he could come at no water, he was at last constrained to agree with them upon these hard terms, that he would restore to them all his Conquests, provided that Himself ^{*} and *all his Men* should drink of a Spring not far distant from his Camp : after the usual Oaths and Ratifications, he call'd his Souldiers together, and offer'd to him that would forbear drinking, half his Kingdom for a reward : their thirst was so much stronger than their ambition, that not a man of them was able to forbear : in short, when they had all drank their fill, at last comes King *Sous* himself to the Spring, and, having sprinkled his face only, without swallowing one drop, he march'd off in the face of his Enemies, refusing to yield up his Conquests, because Himself, and *all his Men* (according to the Articles) had not drank of their water.

Although he was justly had in Admirati-
on, as well for his wit and abstinence, as for
his warlike exploits, yet was not his Fam-
ily surnamed from him, but from his Son *Eur-
ytyron*, (of whom they were call'd *Euritio-
nides*:) the reason of this was, that *Eury-
tion* took a course never practis'd by his
wife

wise Predecessours, which was to flatter and cajole his own Subjects, by slackening the reigns of the Royal Authority. But see what follow'd ! the people, instead of growing more tractable by it, made new encroachments upon him every day : insomuch, that, partly by taking advantages of the too great *easiness* or *necessities* of the succeeding Princes, partly by tiring out and vexing those which used severity, they at last brought the Government into contempt, and soon after the whole Kingdom into Anarchy and Confusion. In this miserable estate things continu'd a long time, and amongst its other tragical effects, it caused the death of the Father of *Lycurgus* ; for as the good King was endeavouring to quell a Riot in which the parties were come to blows, he was among them most barbarously || butcher'd ; and left the title of King to his eldest Son *Polydectes* : but he too dying soon after, the right of Succession (as every one thought) rested in *Lycurgus* ; and reign he did, until he had notice that the Queen, his Sister-in-Law, was with Child : upon this he immediately declar'd that the Kingdom belong'd to her Issue, provided it were Male, and that himself would exercise the Regal Jurisdiction only as his

Πατέρες καὶ οὐκοί τάγησι, σταθμόν μετὰ a Cooks Knife.

* They call'd them *Περδίκοι*.

* Guardian and Regent during his minority : soon after an overture was made to him

him by the Queen, that she would make her self miscarry, or some way destroy that she went with, upon Condition that he would Marry her when he came to the Crown. Though he was extreamly incens'd against the Woman for this unnatural Proposal, yet wisely smothering his resentments, and making shew of closing with her, he dispatch'd the Messenger with a world of thanks, and expressions of joy, but withal dissuaded her earnestly from procuring her self to miscarry, because that the violent means used in such cases would impair her Health, if not endanger her Life: Withal assuring her, that himself would so order it, that the Child, as soon as born, should be taken *out of the way*. By these, and such like artifices, having drawn on the Woman to the time of her lying in, as soon as ever he heard that she was in Labour, he sent some of his Council to be by and observe all that past, with order, that if it were a Girle they should deliver it to the Women, but if a Boy, that they should bring it to him wheresoever he were, and whatsoever a doing. It so fell out, that as he was at Supper with his Principal Magistrates, the Queen was brought to bed of a Boy, who was soon after presented to him as he was at the Table: he, taking him tenderly into his

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his arms, said to those about him, behold, my Lords of Sparta, here is a King born unto us ; this said, he laid him down upon the Chair of State, and nam'd him *Charilaus*; that is, *the Joy of the People*: because they were so much transported with joy, both at the birth of the young Prince, and the contemplation of the Noble Mind and Justice of *Lycurgus* : And yet his good Reign lasted only Eight Months. But *Lycurgus* was in *Nature a Prince*, and there were more who obeyed him upon the account of his eminent Vertues, than because he was Regent to the King, and had the Treasure and strength of the Nation in his hands. Yet could not all this ensure him from envy, which made a push at him (as is usual) before he was well settled in his high Trust ; the Heads of this Faction were the Kindred and Creatures of the Queen-Mother, who pretended not to have been dealt with suitably to her quality ; and her Brother *Leonidas*, in a warm debate which fell out betwixt him and *Lycurgus*, went so far as to tell him to his face, that he was very well assured that ere long he should see him King ; by this reflecting insinuation he endeavour'd to make the people jealous of *Lycurgus*, thus preparing the way for an accusation of him, as though he had made away with his Nephew, if he should chance

*Lycurgus
envied.*

to fail, though by a natural death; words of the like import were designedly cast abroad by the Queen-mother, and her adherents.

Being exceedingly troubled at this, and not knowing what it might come to, he thought it his wisest course to decline their envy by a voluntary exile, and so travel from place to place until his Nephew came to marriageable years, and by having a Son had secured the Succession: setting Lycurgus
his Tra-
vels. Sail therefore with this resolution, he first arrived at *Crete*, where having considered their several Forms of Government, and got an acquaintance with the principal Men amongst them, some of their Laws he very much approv'd of, and resolv'd to make use of them in his own Countrey, and a good part of them he rejected as useless. Amongst the Persons there the most renown'd for their ability and Wisdom in State Matters, was one *Thales*, whom *Lycurgus*, by repeated importunities, and assurances of Friendship, at last perswaded to go over to *Lacedæmon*. When he came thither, by his outward Appearance and Character, he seem'd no other than a Lyrick Poet, but in reality he perform'd the part of one of the ablest Law-givers in the World: The very Songs which he compos'd were pathetical Exhortations to Obedience

and Concord : The sweetness of the Measures and the cadence of the Verse, suiting with the Subject, both serious and delightful, had so great an influence on their minds, that they were insensibly softned and civiliz'd : insomuch that at last they renounced their private feuds and animosities, which had kept them so long at variance to their unspeakable disadvantage, and re-united themselves into a chearful and unanimous concurrence for the publick welfare : so that it may truly be said that *Thales* prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, by removing the rubbish and clearing the ground-plot, that he might raise upon it the lasting Fabrick of that glorious Commonwealth.

From *Crete* he sailed to *Asia*, with design (as is said) to examine the difference betwixt the Manners and Government of the *Cretans* (who were very wise and temperate) and those of the *Ionians*, a corrupt and effeminate people : as Physicians, by the opposition they find betwixt a healthful and sickly body, are enabled to distinguish the swelling of a Dropsie from a good and thriving habit, and a real health from that which but appears so. Here had he the first sight of *Homer's Works*, which were preserved in all probability by the posterity of *Cleobulus* : and having observ'd that the few loose expressions and actions of ill example

Homer's
Works
brought to
light by Ly-
curgus.

example which are to be found in his Poems, were very much out-weigh'd by those grave Maxims of State and rules of Morality (which are frequently couch'd under those very Fictions). he set himself eagerly to transcribe and digest them into order, as thinking they would be of good use in his own Country: and to his immortal honour be it said, he was the first who brought the Works of this most admirable Poet into credit in *Greece*: for though some fragments of them lay scatter'd before in a few private hands (who set a great value upon them,) yet were they never published together, nor generally admired, before the time of *Lycurgus*.

The *Aegyptians* say that he took a Voy-
age into *Aegypt*, and that, being much ta-
ken with their way of separating the Soul-
diery from their Handcrafts and Mecha-
nicks, he resolv'd to imitate them at *Lace-
dæmon*: and this distinction of their Pro-
fessions, as it prevented confusion, it encreased
their strength, and causing regularity, added
beauty to the State. But as for his Voyages
into *Spain*, *Africk*, and the *Indies*, and his
conferences there with the *Gymnosophistes*,
the whole relation (as far as I can find)
rests on the single credit of *Aristocrates*, the
Son of Hipparchus.

*This Story
of the A-
gyptians is
confirmed
by some
Greek Hi-
storians.*

During the absence of *Lycurgus*, though he was cheaply parted with, he was dearly miss'd at *Lacedaemon*, and a great many Embassies were sent to pray his return, for Kings indeed we have (said they) who wear the marks and assume the titles of Royalty, but as for the inward qualities of their minds, they have nothing by which they are to be distinguish'd from their Subjects: adding, that in him alone was the true foundation of Sovereignty to be seen, a Nature made to Rule, and a *Genius* of that strength that it made him at the same time *lov'd* and *revenged* by the people. Tho' this seem'd a little to reflect, yet were not the Kings themselves averse from his return, for they look'd upon his presence as a bulwark for them against the growing insolencies of the people.

*His return
and the al-
terations he
made.*

Things being in this posture at his return, he apply'd himself without loss of time to a through Reformation, and resolv'd to change the whole face of the Commonwealth: for what could a few particular Laws and a partial alteration avail, when there was an universal corruption of all orders and degrees of Men in the State? He took therefore the course wise Physicians use, when they have to do with one who labours under a complication of Diseases, they are not content to obviate one or two of

of them, but follow him with purges and letting blood, until they have quite drain'd him of the peccant humours, and exhausted the corrupt mass of his blood : This done, they restore him by degrees, and prescribe a regimen of Diet quite contrary to the former : the Reader will easily make the application. Having thus projected things, away he goes to *Delphi* to consult *Apollo* there, which having done, and offered his Sacrifice, he returned with that renowned Oracle, in which he is call'd beloved of God, and rather God than Man : that his Prayers were heard, that his Laws should be the best, and the Commonwealth which observed them the most famous in the World. Encouraged by these things, he set himself to bring over to his side the leading Men of *Sparta*, exhorting them to give him a helping hand in this great undertaking, he broke it first to his particular friends, and then by degrees he gained others ; at last he animated them all together to put his design in execution. When things were ripe for action, he gave order to thirty of the principal men of *Sparta* to be ready arm'd at the Market-place by break of the day, to the end that he might strike a terror into the opposite party : *Hermippus* hath set down the names of twenty of the most eminent

*This Oracle
is extant at
length in
Herodo-
tus.*

of them; but the name of him whom *Lycurgus* most confided in, and who was of most use to him, both in making his Laws, and putting them in execution, was *Arithmiadas*. Things growing to a tumult, King *Charilaus* apprehending that it was a Conspiracy against his Person, took Sanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva* the Protectress; being soon after undeceived, and put in heart again, and having taken an Oath of them that they had no treasonable designs, he quitted his Refuge, and himself also entred into the confederacy with them: of so gentle and flexible a disposition he was, and almost too good natur'd for a King: to which *Archelaus* his Partner in the Government alluded; when hearing him highly extoll'd for his goodness, he said, how can he be otherwise than a gracious Prince, for he is good even to the worst of men?

Amongst the many changes and alterations which *Lycurgus* made, the first and of greatest importance was the establishment of the Senate, which having a power equal to the Kings in matters of great consequence, did (as *Plato* expresses it) with its phlegm allay and qualifie the hot complexion of a Monarchy, serv'd as a Rampart against the insolence of the People, and always kept the Commonwealth in *good temper*.

per. For the State which before had no firm Basis to stand upon, but lean'd one while towards an absolute Monarchy (when the Kings had the upper hand) and another while towards a pure Democracy (when the people had the better of it) found in this Establishment of the Senate a counterpoise, which always kept things in a just *æquilibrium*. For the Twenty Eight always adhered to the weaker side, and put themselves like a weight into the lighter Scale, until they had reduced the other to a Ballance. As for the determinate number of Twenty Eight, *Aristotle* is of opinion that it so fell out, because two of the Associates for want of Courage fell off from the Enterprize; but *Sphaerus* assures us that there were but Twenty eight of the Confederates at first: perhaps there is some mystery in the number which consists of seven multiply'd by four, and is the first of perfect numbers after six, being, as that is, equal to its sides. For my part, I cannot believe that *Lycurgus* had any such niceties in his head, but pitch'd upon the number of Twenty Eight, that, the two Kings being reckoned amongst them, they might be Thirty in all. So eagerly set was *Lycurgus* upon this Establishment invented by himself, that he took a Journey to *Delphi* to credit it by the approbation of

The Rhetra,
or
Oracle.

the Oracle, who gave him the Famous *Rhetra*, or fundamental Statute, which runs thus. *After that you have built a Temple to Jupiter the Syllanian, and to Minerva the Syllanian, and after that you divided the People into Tribes, you shall establish a Council of thirty Senatours, in the number of which the two Kings shall be compriz'd, and shall from time to time call the People to an Assembly betwixt Balyca and Cnacion, where the Senate shall propound things to the Commons, who shall not have power to debate upon their proposals, but only to give or refuse their assent, and it shall be in the power of the Senate to dissolve the Assembly.* Betwixt this *Balyca* and *Cnacion* (now called *oiv̄v̄la*) their Assemblies were held, for they had no spacious Council-house richly hung and furnished to receive them in: for *Lycurgus* was of Opinion that such Theatrical Ornaments were so far from advantaging them in their Counsels, that they were rather an hinderance, by diverting their attention from the business before them, to gape upon the Statues and Pictures, and Roofs curiously fretted, the usual embelishments of such places amongst the other Græcians. The People then being thus assembled in the open air, it was not allow'd to any one of their order to give his advice, but only either to ratifie or reject what should

should be propounded to them by the King or Senate. But because it fell out afterwards, that the People made glosses and explanations of Laws contrary to the intent of the Kings and Senate, and sometimes too by adding or razing out whole Sentences, perverted the sense, King *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* (to be even with them in their own kind) inserted into the *Rhetra* or grand Decretal the following Clause; That if the People should go about to make alteration in the Decrees of the Senate, or to enlarge or limit the sense of them, that it should be lawful for the King and Senate to make void their resolutions, and to dissolve the Assembly. This business was so dexterously managed, that it past among the people for as authentick as the rest of the *Rhetra*, as appesrs by these Verses of *Tyrtæus*,

If, Spartans, ye desire that Heaven should bless
Your New-born State with lasting happiness,
Hear what Apollo's Oracle commands :
Jove puts the Sceptre into Princes hands.
Let them Command ; let Senators debate
The deep Affairs, and Interests of State :
Hear, ye, and give assent, and reverence pay,
And know, 'tis Subjects privilege—to obey.

Although

Although *Lycurgus* had in this manner us'd all the qualifications possible in the Government of his Common-wealth, yet those who succeeded him thought that the smallness of the number of which the Senate consisted, made them somewhat imperious

* *Plato no great friend to a Monarchy.* and pressing, and therefore * (as *Plato* says) they wanted a Bridle, which Bridle was the power of the *Ephori*, establish'd an hundred and thirty years after the death of *Lycurgus*. *Elatus* was the first who had this Dignity conferr'd upon him, in the Reign of King *Theopompus*, whom when his Queen upbraided one day, that he would leave the regal Power to his Children less than himself had received it from his Ancestours, he told her that she was much mistaken, for he should leave it so much greater than he found it, by how much it was more likely to last. For indeed the Prerogative being thus kept within some reasonable bounds, at once he freed himself from the envy, and secur'd himself from the danger, to which an unlimited jurisdiction lies expos'd. So that the Spartan Kings fared much better after it than their Neighbours at *Messene* and *Argos*; who by screwing their Prerogative too high, crack'd it, and for want of yielding a little to the populacy, lost all.

Indeed, whosoever shall take a prospect of the Seditions and Civil Wars which befell

fell these bordering Nations, (to whom they were as near related in blood as situation) will find good reason to admire the profound wisdom and providence of *Lycurgus*; for these three States in their first rise were equal, or, if there were any odds, they lay on the side of the *Messenians* and *Argives*, who in the decision of the Country were more fortunate than the *Spartans*: yet was their flourish but of small continuance, soon falling into confusion, partly by the tyrannical disposition of their Kings, and partly by the ungovernableness of the people: so that now their servile and disgraceful condition makes it appear to the whole world, that it is one of the greatest Blessings which Heaven can send down upon any Nation, to give them so wise a Law-giver who could set bounds to those two intersferring powers, and of such jarring elements, frame an orderly Commonwealth. But of this I shall say more in its due place.

After the creation of the thirty Senators, his next task, and indeed the most hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new division of their Lands. For there was a very strange inequality amongst the Inhabitants of *Sparta*, so that the City was surcharged with a multitude of beggarly and necessitous persons, whilst the Lands and Money were engrossed by a few: therefore

therefore to the end that he might banish out of the State Luxury and Arrogance, (the vices of the rich,) and Envy and Knavery, (the usual faults of the poor) and the source of all mischiefs, Want and Superfluity, he obtained of them to renounce their properties, and to consent to a new division of the Land: that they should live all with the equality and friendliness of Co-heirs and Brothers: so that there being no other way left to mount to a degree of eminence above the rest, than to become more valiant and more vertuous than they, *Ambition began to be a good subject*, and set men upon the use of those means by which true honour is to be acquir'd.

Having got their consent to his proposals, he immediately put them in execution: and having exactly survey'd the whole Country of *Laconia*, he divided it into thirty thousand equal shares, and the Liberties of the City of *Sparta* into nine thousand, and these he distributed to the Inhabitants of the City, as he did the others to them who dwelt in the Country. Some Authors say that he made but six thousand lots for the Citizens of *Sparta*, and that King *Polydore* added three thousand more. Others say that *Polydore* doubled the number *Lycurgus* had made, which (according to them) was but four thousand five hundred,

dred. A lot was so much as to yield one year with another about seventy Bushels of Grain; for the Master of the Family, and twelve for his Wife, with a suitable proportion of Oil and Wine. And this he thought sufficient to keep their bodies in good health and lusty, and as for superfluities he design'd wholly to retrench them. It is reported, that as he returned from a Journey some time after the division of the Lands, in harvest time, the ground being newly reap'd, observing the Sheaves to be all equal, and the Shocks of the same bigness, he smilingly said to those about him, methinks *Lacedæmon* is like the Inheritance of a great many Brothers, which have newly made a division amongst themselves.

Not contented with this, he resolv'd to make a division of their Moveables too, that there might be no odious distinction or inequality left amongst them; but finding that it would be very dangerous to go about it openly, he bethought himself of this stratagem. He commanded that all Gold and Silver Coin should be cry'd down, and that only a sort of Money made of Iron should be current, whereof a great weight and quantity was but very little worth: so that to lay up twenty or thirty pounds, there was requir'd a pretty large Chamber, and to remove it, nothing less than

than a yoke of Oxen. By this invention, it is scarcely to be imagin'd, how many execrable Vices were banish'd *Lacedæmon*: for who would rob another of such a scurvy sort of Coin? who would unjustly detain it? who would cheat and circumvent, be brib'd or turn Knight of the Post to compass it? when that it was not easie to be hid when a man had it, nor brought a man any credit in the world by the possession of it, nor could serve for any use when you had cut it in pieces: for when it was red hot and just stamp'd, they quench'd it in Vinegar, and by that means made it almost un-malleable by its hardness.

In the next place he banish'd all Arts that were not absolutely necessary; but here he might almost have spar'd his Proclamation: for they of themselves would have gone after the Gold and Silver, the money which remain'd being not so proper payment for curious Pieces: for being of Iron it was scarcely portable, neither if they should take so much pains as to export it, would it pass amongst the other Grecians, who were so far from valuing it, that they thought it one of the most ridiculous things in the world. Thus was foreign Traffick almost utterly cut off, for neither could the *Lacedæmonians* buy any Merchandise of Strangers, neither did any Merchants think it worth the while

while to bring in their Goods to any part of *Laconia*. For the same reason, they were not pestered with any *pedantical* Teachers of Rhetorick, with Gypsies, Fortune-tellers, and Calculators of Nativities; No pimping corrupters of youth brought their Ladies of composition, or their Boys to be unnatural-ly abus'd there; no Goldsmiths, and En-gravers, no Jewellers and Perfumers were to be found amongst them, *for there was no money*: so that Luxury being depriv'd of that which fed and fomented it (being quite starved out) was forc'd to quit their Country, and seek it self one elsewhere. For the rich had no preeminence here over the poor, and their riches and abundance, ha-ving no opportunity of appearing and bo-a-sting of it self in publick, were forced to remain useless at home, a *costly prey* to the rust and the moth. Their thoughts being thus taken off from things superfluous, they became excellent Artists in those which were necessary: so that Bedsteads, Chairs and Tables, and such like staple Ut-ensils in a Family, were admirably well made there: particularly their Cup was very much in fashion, and bought up by Souldiers, as *Critias* reports, for the colour and thickness of the Cup hindred the mud-diness of the dirty water (which upon mar-ches must often be drunk) from being per-ceived:

ceived: and the Figure of it was such, that the mud sank to the bottom, or stuck to the sides, so that only the purest part of the water came to the mouth of him that drank it. And this skill of theirs, though in minute things, was mainly owing to their Law-giver, who took off their minds from the endless care of providing the means and instruments of Luxury, to attend only to those things which were of daily and indispensable use.

The last and most masterly stroke of this excellent Philosopher, by which he struck at the very roots of Luxury, and extermimated utterly the desire of riches, was the Ordinance he made, that they should all eat in common, of the same meat, and of such kinds as were specify'd in the Decree: by which it was expressly forbid to pamper themselves in private, to use rich Couches, and magnificent Tables, abusing the labours of excellent Workmen, and *delivering* themselves up into the hands of their Butchers and Cooks, who us'd to *Cram* them in Corners, as they fatted up the *Beasts* and the *Poultry* they fed on: by this way of life their manners were not only corrupted, but their bodies too were enfeebled; so that giving the rein to their sensual Appetites, they stood in need of long sleep, and hot *Bagnio's*, and, in a word, of as much care and

and attendance as if they were continually Sick. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about such an Enterprise as this, but a greater yet to have effected by the frugality of their publick Tables, that their riches should be privileg'd from the hands of rapine, nay rather (as *Theophrastus* observes) should be utterly degraded, *losing their property, and almost * ΠΛΑΤΩΝ
ΔΙΤΛΥΣΤΟΣ. their very nature, so that they no longer were the objects of envy. For the rich being oblig'd to partake of the same fare with the poor, they could not make use of, or enjoy their choice viands, nor so much as please their vain humours, by making a shew and vaunting of them to the World. So that the common Proverb that *Platus* (the God of Riches) is blind, was no where so literally verify'd as in *Sparta*: for there he was kept continually *Blind*, or rather like a dead Carcase, senseless, motionless, as when he lay wrapt up in the dark entrails of the Earth. Nor could they take any refection in private before they came to the publick Halls, for every one had an eye upon them who did not eat and drink with a good stomach, and reproached them with the name of dainty and effeminate.

This last Ordinance bore very hard upon the wealthier sort of Men, so that being out

of all patience they made an insurrection against *Lycurgus*, and from ill words came to blows, so that at length he was forced to run out of the Assembly, and make to Sanctuary to save his life: by good hap he got before all the rest, excepting one *Alcander*, (a young Gentleman otherwise not ill accomplish'd, but too hasty and Cholerick) who came up so close to him, as that, whilst he turn'd himself about to see who was near him, he struck him upon the face, and beat out one of his eyes. The incomparable *Philosopher* was so far from being daunted and discouraged by this accident, that he stop'd short, and shew'd his reverend face all in a gore blood to his ingrateful Countrymen: they were so strangely surpris'd and ashamed to see it, that they immediately begg'd pardon, offer'd him any sort of reparation, and deliver'd *Alcander* into his hands to be punished as he should think fit. *Lycurgus*, having thank'd them for their care of his Person, dismiss'd them all, excepting only *Alcander*; taking him with him into his House he neither did nor said any thing severely to him, but dismissing those whose place it was, he order'd *Alcander* to wait upon him at Table: the young man, though not used to servile employments, without murmuring or repining did as he was commanded: being thus near him

him he had opportunity to observe in him (besides the natural goodness and mildness of his temper) an extraordinary sobriety in his diet, and a strength of complexion proceeding from it, which no labours and fatigues were able to surmount. He was so ravish'd with admiration of these excellent qualities, that of an Enemy he became one of his most zealous admirers, and told his Friends and Relations, that *Lycurgus* was not that *moroſe* and *ill-natur'd* Man whom they had formerly took him for, but of the sweetest and most *Gentleman-like* disposition in the world. And thus did *Lycurgus* (for *chaitement* of his fault) make of a wild and dissolute young Man, one of the discreetest Citizens of *Sparta*.

In memory of this accident *Lycurgus* built a Temple to *Minerva*, surnamed *Op̄tilete*, from a word which in the *Dorick Dialect* signifies the preserver of the sight: for some Authors, of which *Dioscorides* is one (who wrote a Treatise of the Commonwealth of *Sparta*) say that he was wounded indeed, but did not lose his eye with the blow: and this was the cause of the dedication of that Temple. Be this as it will, certain it is, that this misadventure was the cause that the *Lacedæmonians* never bring any Arms, no not so much as a Staff into their publick Assemblies.

But to return to their publick repasts, which had several names in Greek: for the Candiots call'd them Ἀρδεῖα (because the men only came to them:) The *Lacedæmonians* call'd them Φεδίτια (from a word which signifies Parsimony, because they were so many Schools of Sobriety) or Φιλίτια, that is, Feasts of Love, because that by eating and drinking together they had opportunity of making Friends. To put in my own conjecture, perhaps they were simply call'd Εδίτια (Eating-Houses) for such the word is by the subtraction of one letter. They met by companies of Fifteen, over or under, and each of them stood bound to bring in monthly a Bushel of Meal, eight Galons of Wine, five Pounds of Chéele, two Pounds and an half of Figs, for their dessert, and a little Money to buy Flesh and Fish withal. Besides this, when any of them made Sacrifice to the Gods, they always sent a dole to the Common-hall: and likewise when any one of them had been a Hunting, he sent thither a part of the Venison he had kill'd, and these two were the only allowable excuses for supping at home. This custom of eating together was observ'd strictly for a great while afterwards: insomuch that *Agis*, King of *Lacedæmon*, having vanquish'd the *Athenians*, and sending for his Commons at his return

return home, because he desired to eat privately with his Queen, was refus'd by the *Polemarchi*: which refusal, when he resented so much as to omit the Eucharistical Sacrifices, which used to be made for a War happily ended, they were so far from asking his pardon, that they set a fine upon his head, and obliged him to pay it.

They us'd to send their Children to these Tables as to Schools of temperance and good husbandry: here they were instructed in State-affairs, not by mercenary *Pedants*, but, by experienced *Statesmen*: here they learn'd the Art of Conversation, to *droll* without *reflecting*, and to make jests at the *cost* of no man's reputation: and withall to take a jest with the same innocence and unconcernedness that they gave one. In this point of good breeding the *Lacedæmonians* exceeded all the People of Greece: but if any man were out of humour, or was not of a nature to bear a jest, upon the least hint given there was no more to be said to him: it was customary also for the eldest man in the company to tell each of them, as they came in, *Look ye, Sir, not a word said in company must go out of this Door,* and withal he pointed to it. When any one had a desire to be admitted into any of these little Societies, he was to go through this manner of probation: each

man in the company took a little ball of soft bread (a custom much like that of *ballotting* in other places) which they were to throw into a deep Basin, which a Waiter carried round upon his head: those that lik'd the person to be chosen drop'd their Ball into the Basin without altering the figure; and those who disliked him press'd it betwixt their fingers, and made it flat: and this signify'd as much as a *negative* voice; for if there were but one of these flatt'd pieces in the Basin the Suiter was rejected: so curious they were in the choice of their company, and so tender of disgusting any one member in it, by taking in a man unacceptable to him. Their principal Dish was a sort of black Broth, which was so much valued that the elderly sort fed only upon that, leaving what flesh there was to the younger sort.

The same story is told of Dionysius the Tyrant. Cic. Tusc.

They say that a certain King of Pontus, having heard much of this black Broth of theirs, sent for a Lacedæmonian Cook on purpose to make him some: he had no sooner tasted it but he found it was abominable: the Cook seeing him out of conceit with it, told him: *Sir, to make this Broth relish, you should have bath'd your self first in the River of Eurotas.*

Having eaten and drank thus moderately, every man went to his home without lights:

lights : for the use of them was utterly forbid, to the end that they might accustom themselves to march boldly in the dark. And such was the order and fashion of their Meals.

Lycurgus would never reduce his Laws into writing; nay, it is expressly forbid in the *Rhetra*; for he thought that the most material points, and such as most directly tended to the publick welfare, being *imprinted* on the hearts of their Youth by a good Education, and by a constant and habitual observance of them, becoming a *second Nature*, would supply the place of a Law and Law-giver in them all the rest of their Lives: and as for things of lesser importance, as pecuniary contracts, and such like, the forms of which ought to be chang'd as occasion requires, and in tract of time become insufficient for the ends they were intended for, he thought it the best way to leave them to every man's discretion, and to prescribe no certain form at all: he left therefore no inviolable custom in such cases, willing that the manner, and form of bargaining should be alter'd according to the circumstances of time, and determinations of men of the soundest judgment. For he was perswaded that without good education the best Laws in the world signify'd nothing, and where that was they were in a manner superfluous.

One branch then of the *Rhetra* was, that their Laws should not be written; another branch of it is particularly levell'd against Luxury and expensiveness: for by it it was ordained, That the Ceilings of their Houses should only be wrought by the Ax, and their Gates and Doors smooth'd only by the Saw. And this was not without mystery: for if *Epaminondas* could say with so good a grace, inviting some Friends to his Table, *Come, Gentlemen, be secure, Treason would never come to such a poor Dinner as this;* why might not this great Law-giver in all probability have thought that such ill-favour'd Houses would never be capable of receiving Luxury and Superfluity? For a man must have a more than ordinary share of folly that would furnish such Rooms with embroidered Beds, and Hangings of Arras, that would be serv'd in Plate upon a rough hewn Table, and pretend to pomp and magnificence in a House which was almost too narrow for the necessities of life. And doubtless he had good reason to think that they would proportion their Beds to their House, and their Coverlets to their Beds, and that the rest of their Goods and Furniture would be suitable to them. It is reported that King *Leotichidas*, the first of that name, was so little used to the sight of carv'd Work, that, being entertain'd at Co-

rinth in a stately Room, he was much surpris'd to see the Timber and Ceiling so finely wrought, and asked his Host, whether the *Trees* grew so in his Country?

A third Ordinance of this forementioned *Rhetra* was, That they should not make War often, or long, with the same Enemy, lest that they should train and instruct them in the art of War by having often to do with them: and by forcing them to defend themselves, at length teach them to be the aggressours: and for breaking this Law was *Agelaius* much blamed a long time after, by making such continual incursions into *Bœotia*, that at length he taught that People to make head against the *Lacedemonians*: and therefore *Antalcidas*, seeing him wounded one day, said to him, that he was very well paid for making the *Thebans* good Souldiers whether they would or no. And these Laws were called the *Rhetra*, that is to say, not inventions of Man's Wisdom, but Divine Sanctions and Revelations from Heaven.

In order to the good Education of their Youth (which, as I said before, he thought the most important and noblest Work of a Law-giver) he went so far back as to take into consideration their very Conception and Birth, by regulating their Marriages. For Aristotle wrongs the memory of this Pol. lib. 7. excellent

excellent Person, by bearing us in hand, that, after he had try'd all manner of ways to reduce the Women to more modesty and sobriety, he was at last forc'd to leave them as they were: because that in the absence of their Husbands, who spent the best part of their lives in the Wars, their Wives made themselves absolute Mistresses at home, and would be treated with as much respect as if they had been so many Queens. But by his good leave it is a mistake; for he took for that Sex too all the care that was possible: for an instance of it, he ordered the Maidens to exercise themselves with Wrest-ling, Running, throwing the Bar, and casting the Dart, to the end that the Fruit they conceived might take deeper root, and grow strong, and spread it self in strong and healthy Bodies; and withal that they might be the more able to undergo the pains of Child-bearing. And to the end he might take away their over-great tenderness, and that *acquired* womanishness which vain custom hath added to the *natural*, he ordered that they should go naked as well as the young Men, and dance too in that condition at their solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, singing certain Songs, whilst the young Men stood in a ring about them, seeing and hearing them: in these Songs they now and then gave a satyrical glance upon those who

who had mis-behaved themselves in the Wars; and sometimes sang Encomiums upon those who had done any gallant Action, and by these means enflamed the younger sort with an emulation of their Glory. Those that were thus commended went away brave and well satisfy'd with themselves, and those who were rally'd, were as sensibly touch'd with it, as if they had been formally and severely reprimanded; and so much the more, because the King and whole Court saw and heard all that pass'd. Now though it may seem strange that Women should appear thus naked in publick, yet may it be said, that *true* modesty was observ'd and wantonness excluded: they were sufficiently clad in their *native* innocence and simplicity, and wore the livery of the lovely original couple. The end of their exercise was to make themselves more active and vigorous, to the end that they might bear away the prize one from another, and at last come to dispute it with the Men. From hence came that sense of honour and nobleness of Spirit, of which we have an instance in *Gorgo*, the Wife of King *Leonidas*, who being told, in discourse with some Foreign Ladies, that the Women of *Lacedæmon* were they only of the World who had an Empire over the Men, she briskly repart'y'd, that there was
good

good reason, for they were the only Women who brought forth Men. Lastly, these publick processions of the Maidens, and their appearing naked in their exercises and dancings, were Provocations and Baits to stir up and allure the young Men to Marriage: and that, not upon *Geometrical reasons* (as *Plato* calls them) such as Interest, and equality of Fortune and Birth, but from the *sweet* constraint and unsophisticated dictates of nature, from that *mysterious* agreement and *sympathy* of minds which alone can make Men happy in a married estate. Besides this, that he might promote Marriage more effectually, those who continued Batchellors were made infamous by Law; for they were excluded from the sight of those publick Processions in which the young Men and Maidens danc'd naked; nay, the Officers compell'd them to march naked themselves round the Market-place in the very depth of Winter, singing a certain Song to their own disgrace, that they justly suffer'd this punishment for disobeying the Laws. Moreover they were depriv'd of that respect and observance which the younger sort were oblig'd to pay to their Elders; and therefore no man found fault with what was said to *Dercyllidas*, a great Captain, and one who had commanded Armies; who, as he came into the place

place of Assembly, a young Man, instead of rising and making room for him, told him, Sir, you must not expect that honour from me being young, which cannot be return'd to me by a Child of yours when I am old.

When they had a mind to marry, their Courtship was a sort of Rape upon the persons whom they had a fancy for, and those they chose not tender and half Children, but in the flower of their age and full ripe for a Husband. After this, she who manag'd the Wedding, comes and leaves close the Hair of the Bride, dresses her up compleatly in Man's Clothes, leaves her upon a Mattress: this done, he comes the Bridegroom, in his every day Clothes, sober and compos'd, as having supp'd at his Ordinary, and steals in as privately as he can into the Room where the Bride lay, unites her Virgin Zoæ and takes her into his Embraces; and so having stay'd some time together, he returns as secretly as he can to his Apartment with the rest of his Camerades, with whom he spends all the day, and good part of the night too; unless he steals a short visit to his Bride, and that he did with a great deal of circumspection and fear of being discover'd; nor was she wounding (as may be suppos'd) on her part, to use her Woman's wit in watching the most favourable opportunities

* The Romans allow'd them to marry at twelve years of age: he covertly blames them for it.

tunities for their meeting, and making appointments when Company was most out of the way. In this manner they liv'd a long time, insomuch that they frequently had Children by their Wives before ever they saw their Faces by day-light. Their interview being thus difficult and rare, serv'd not only for continual exercise of their Temperance, and further'd very much the ends and intention of Marriage, but besides, these short Absences kept their Passion still alive, which *flaggs*, and *decays* and *dyes* at last by too easie Access, and long continuance with the beloved Object: they always parted with regret, contriving when they should come together again, and thought minutes hours till the next meeting: having thus set Modesty as a Sentinel over the Marriage-bed, he next bethought himself of a prevention of that wild and womanish Passion, *Jealousie*. And this he

* A Reme-
dy almost as
bad as the
Disease,
blam'd and
derided by
the other
Græcians.
* thought the best expedient, to allow Men
the freedom of imparting the use of their
Wives to those whom they should think fit,
and this he would needs make a very com-
mendable piece of Liberality, and laugh'd
at those who think the violation of their
Bed such an insupportable affront, that they
revenge it by Murthers often, and some-
times by cruel Wars. *Lycurgus* thought a
Man

Man not to be blam'd, who being step'd in years, and having a young Wife, should recommend some vertuous handsom young Man that she might have a Child by him, who might inherit the good Qualities of such a Father; and this Child the good Man loves as tenderly as if he was of his own begetting: on the other side; an honest Man who had love for a married Woman upon the account of her Modesty and the well-favour'dness of her Children, might without formality beg of her Husband a nights Lodging, that he might have a slip of so goodly a Tree, which he might transplant into his own Garden. And indeed, *Lycurgus* was of a persuasion that Children were not so much the propriety of their Parents, as of the whole Commonwealth, and therefore he would not have 'em begot by the first Comers, but by the best Men that could be found: the Laws of other Nations seem'd to him very defective and incongruous, who were very solicitous for the breed of their Dogs and Horses, and sent a great way, and were at no small Charges to get the best Stallions; and yet kept their Wives under Lock and Key for fear of other Men, whereas themselves were craz'd, old, or infirm, and more fit to propagate Diseases than their Species: if they had made the least reflection in the world, they would have taken notice

notice that the Honour and dishonour of Children (who generally derive their good or ill Qualities from those that beget 'em) doth chiefly redound to those who have the charge of their Education; and if they prove ill, they first feel the smart of it. Such reasons may be alledg'd in favour of this Paradox of *Lycurgus*; but this is certain, that so long as these Ordinances were observ'd, the Women were there so far from that scandalous Liberty, which hath since been objected to them, that they knew not what the name of Adultery meant. A proof of this we have in *Geradas*, a very ancient Spartan, who being asked by a stranger, what punishment their Law had appointed for Adulterers, he answer'd, there are no Adulterers in our Countrey: but, replied the stranger, suppose there were one, and the Crime prov'd against him, how would you punish him? he answer'd, that the Offender must pay to the Plaintiff a Bull with a Neck so long as that he might drink of the River that ran at the foot of *Taygetus*, over the top of the Mountain: the Man being surpris'd at this, said, why, 'tis impossible to find such a Bull: *Geradas* smilingly reply'd, 'twas just as possible to find an Adulterer in *Sparta*. And so much I had to say of their Marriages.

Nor

Nor was it in the power of the Father to dispose of the Child as he thought fit, but was oblig'd to carry it before the * Try-
ers, (who were some of the gravest men of
the Tribe to which the Child belong'd) their business it was carefully to view the Infant, and if they found it lusty and well-favour'd, they gave order for its Education, and allotted to it one of the nine thousand shares of Land above-mentioned for its maintenance; but if they found it deform'd, and of an ill complexion, they ordered it to be cast into a deep † cavern in the earth, near the mountain *Taygetus*, as thinking it neither for the good of the Child it self, nor for the publick interest, that it should be brought up, since Nature had denied it the means of happiness in its own particular, by not giving it health nor strength sufficient to make it serviceable to the publick: upon the same account the Women did not bathe the new-born Children with Water, as is the custom in all other Countries, but with Wine, to prove the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies; for a conceit they had, that weakly Children fall into fits of the Convulsion, or immediately faint upon their being thus bath'd; on the contrary, those who were of a strong and vigorous habit, would acquire a greater degree of firmness by it, and get a temper in proportion like

* They kept
their Court
at a place
call'd Λέγιον.

+ These places they
call'd anno-
dæ, or
Store-hou-
ses; an un-
natural cu-
stom.

Steel, in the quenching. Their Nurses too were so careful and experienc'd, that without using Swadling-bands, their Children were all streight, well proportion'd and beautiful; and besides they us'd them to any sort of Meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid of the dark, or to be alone, nor to be wayward, and peevish, and crying, as they are generally in other Countries, through the impertinent care and fondness of those who look to them. Upon this account Spartan Nurses were often brought up, or hir'd by People of other Countries: and it is reported that she who suckled *Alcibiades* was a *Spartan*: but if he was fortunate in his Nurse, he was not so in his School-master: for his Guardian *Pericles* † (as *Plato* tells us) chose a Slave for that Office call'd *Zopyrus*, nothing better than those that row'd in a Galley. *Lycurgus* was of another mind, he would not have Masters bought out of the Market, nor such as should sell their pains, nor would he have any thing mercenary in so important a charge.

Nor was it lawful for the Father himself to breed up the Children after his own fancy; but as soon as they were seven years old they were to be enroll'd in certain Companies and Classes, where they all liv'd under the same Orders and Discipline, doing

† In Alcib.
priore.

ing their Exercises, and recreating themselves together. Of these, he who shew'd the most Conduct and Courage, was made Captain; they had their Eyes always upon him, obeyed his orders, and underwent patiently whatsoever punishment he inflicted: so that the whole course of their Education was one continued exercise of a ready and perfect obedience. The old men too were Spectators of their performances, and oft-times hatch'd quarrels, and set them together by the ears, that by those *early* indications they might perfectly learn their natures, and know which would be valiant, which a Coward when they should come to more dangerous encounters: as for Learning, they gave them just enough to serve their turn; their chief care was to make them good Subjects, to fit them to endure the *fatigues of long and tedious marches, and never to return without Victory from the Field.* To this end, as they grew in years their exercises were proportionably increas'd; their heads were shav'd, they were accustomed to go bare-foot, and for the most part to play naked.

After they were twelve years old, they were no longer allow'd to wear *double garments*, one plain Coat serv'd them a whole year: and being but very seldom bath'd and trimm'd, they were none of the neatest

and cleanliest persons in the World. They lodg'd together in little Bands upon Beds made of the Rushes which grew by the Banks of the River *Eurotas*, and because their points were sharp they were to break them off with their Hands without a Knife : if it were a hard Winter they mingled some Thistle-down with their Rushes ; this kept them warm ; and as well contented they were with it, as if it had been the best Feather-bed in the World. By that time they were come to this Age, there was not any of the more hopeful Lads who had not a Lover to bear him company ; the old Men too had an eye upon them, coming often to the Schools to hear and see them contend either in Wit or Strength with one another : and this they did as seriously and with as much concern as if they were their Fathers, their Tutors, or their Magistrates ; so that there scarcely passed a moment without putting them in mind of their duty, nor was there any place so priviledg'd but that they were punish'd if they had neglected it.

Besides all this, there was always one of the best and honestest men in the City appointed to undertake the charge and governance of them : he again rang'd them into several little Bands, and set over each of them for their Captain the discreetest and most

most metall'd of those they call'd *Irenes*, (which were usually twenty years old, and those who were about eighteen were call'd *Mell-Irenes*, as much as to say, who would shortly be Men:) this young Man therefore was their Captain when they fought, and their Master at home, using them for the offices of his House; sending the sturdiest of them to fetch Wood, and the weaker and less able to gather Sallads and Herbs, and these they must either go without or steal them; and this they did by creeping into the Gardens, or conveying themselves very cunningly and closely into the Eating-Houses; and it concern'd them so to do, for if they were taken in the fact, they were whip'd without mercy; and that, not for want of *honesty*, but for want of *wit*, because they did not lay their design well, and were not fine and cunning in their faculty. They stole too all other meat they could lay their *Their Their* ^{very} hands on, looking out sharp and watching all opportunities, when people were asleep or more careless than usual. If they were caught, they were not only punish'd with whipping, but hunger too, being reduc'd to their Ordinary, which was but very slender; and so contriv'd on purpose, that being presf'd by hunger, they might cast about to help themselves by some subtle conveyance or adventurous action; and

this was the principal design of their hard fare : another there was not inconsiderable, that they might grow the better in tallness ; for the vital spirits, not being over-burthen'd and oppressed by too great a quantity of nourishment (which necessarily discharges it self into thickness and breadth) do by their natural lightness and agility mount upwards ; and the substance of the Body not being gross, or in too great a quantity, does more easily follow the *fashioning* hand of Nature, whereas gross and over-fed Bodies are stubborn and untractable, and she can at best make but a bungling piece of work of them. This we find by experience in Women which take Physick whilst they are with Child ; for though the Children be by that means made something leaner, and of a less size, yet are they, for the most part, lovely of aspect, and extraordinary well shap'd ; the remaining matter, after the separation of the grosser humors, being more supple and pliable and recipient of its form, which is always *exact* and *perfect* in its kind, when the matter is capable of it. But whether this be the true reason or not, I leave it to be determin'd by the *College of Physicians*.

To return from whence we have digresed ; the *Lacedæmonian* Children were so very cautious and fearful of being discove-
red

red, that a youth having stolen a young Fox and hid it under his Coat, suffer'd it to tear out his very Bowels with its Teeth and Claws, and so dy'd upon the place, rather than he would discover it: what is practis'd to this very day in *Lacedæmon* is enough to gain credit to this story, for my self have seen several of them endure whipping to death at the foot of the Altar of *Diana*, ^{Barbarous Superstition.} surnamed *Orthia*.

The *Iren* or under Master, us'd to stay a little with them after Supper, and one of them he bid to sing a Song: to another he put forth a Question, which requir'd an advis'd and deliberate Answer: for example, Who was the best Man in the City? What he thought of such an action of such a Man? Using them thus early to pass a right judgment upon Persons and things, and to inform themselves of the abilities or defects of their Country-men: if they had not an Answer ready, they were look'd upon as of a dull and careless disposition, and to have little or no sense of Vertue and Honour: besides this, they were to give a good reason for what they said, and in as few words and as comprehensive as might be: he that failed of this, or answered not to the purpose (instead of a Ferule) had his Thumb bit by his Master. It so fell out sometimes that the *Iren* did this in the presence of the

old Men and Magistrates, that they might see whether he punished them justly and in due measure or not: and though he did amiss, they would not reprove him before his Scholars, (lest it should diminish their respect to him) but when they were gone, he himself was call'd to an account, and underwent a correction too, if he had run far into either of the extremes of indulgence or severity.

Their Lovers. It is a thing remarkable that their *Lovers* and *Favourers* had a share in the young Lads honour or disgrace: and there goes a story, that one of them was fined by the Magistrates, because the Lad whom he lov'd cry'd out effeminately as he was fighting, (by the way so much in fashion was this sort of love among them, that the most stay'd and virtuous Matrons would own publickly their passion to a modest and beautiful Virgin.) And though several mens fancies met in one person, yet did not this cause any strangeness or jealousie among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate friendship, whilst they all jointly conspired to render the belov'd Boy the most accomplish'd in the World:

Their short Sayings. They taught them also a Natural and Graceful way of speaking, enlivened with a touch of inoffensive raillery, and comprehending a great deal of matter in few words

For

For *Lycurgus*, who ordered that a great piece of Money (as is aforesaid) should be but of an inconsiderable value, on the contrary, would allow no discourse to be *current*, which did not contain in few words a great deal of useful and weighty sense: so that Children there by a habit of long silence and meditation, had such a presence and quickness of mind as to give very surprizing Answers, and oft-times speak Apothegms to the astonishment of the hearers; whereas the incontinence of the Tongue, like the other sort of incontinence, frustrates the ends of speaking, as that does of generation. From hence the pitthiness of the Laconian Speech; an instance of which we have in King *Agis*, who when a pert Athenian laugh'd at their short Swords, and said that the Jugglers and Mountebanks swallow'd them in the publick Shows and Theatres, answer'd him, And yet our Enemies cannot endure the sight of them; and as their Swords were short and sharp, so were their Sayings: and truly in my judgment there is in this concise way of Speech something which I know better than I can express, which flies *level* to the mark, and does more execution than a whole Volley of words shot at rovers. *Lycurgus* himself, who enjoined this manner of speaking, was one of the best examples of it, as appears by his answer

answer to one who by all means would have a popular Government in *Lacedæmon*: Begin Friend, said he, and make a trial in thy own Family. Another ask'd him why he allow'd of so mean and trivial Sacrifices to the Gods? he reply'd, That we may always have something to offer to them. Being ask'd, what sort of Martial Exercises or Combats he approv'd of, answer'd, all sorts, ex-

* The form
of crying
quarter a-
mong the
Ancients.

cept that in which you * stretch out your hands. Many Sayings of the like force are to be found in the Letters which he occasionally wrote to his Countrey-men; as being consulted how they might best oppose an invasion of their Enemies, return'd this answer, *By continuing poor, and not coveting to have one more than another.* Being consulted again, whether it were requisite to enclose the City with a Wall, sent them word, *That City is well fortified which hath a Wall of Men instead of Brick.* But as for these Letters, whether they be counterfeit or not, I think it no easie matter to determine, and therefore let every man think as he pleases ; But that they were indeed Enemies to talkativeness, these following instances, are an authentick and sufficient proof. King Leonidas told one who held him in Discourse upon some useful things, and worthy his hearing, but not in due time and place, Sir, you are impertinent for speaking in this place so much

much to the purpose. King *Charilaus*, the Nephew of *Lycurgus*, being ask'd why his Uncle had made so few Laws, answered, To men of few words few Laws are sufficient. One blam'd *Hecateus* the Oratour, because that being invited to a Feast, he had not spoke one word all Supper-time, *Archidamus* answered in his vindication, He who can speak well knows when to speak too.

I will now give an instance or two of their sharp Reparties, which, as I said before, had a sort of pleasantness with them, which made them to be the better excus'd.

Damaratus being ask'd, in an † abusive manner by an importunate Fellow, Who was the best man in *Lacedæmon*? answered him, He, Sir, that is the least like you. Some, in company where *Agis* was, much extoll'd the exact Justice of the Eleans, who sat as Judges at the Olympick Games; indeed, says *Agis*, they are highly to be commended if they can do Justice once in the space of five years. *Theopompus* answered a stranger, who brag'd that he was so much taken notice of for his love to the *Lacedemonians*, that his Country-men from thence call'd him * φιλολάκνων, that it had been more for * A lover of his honour if they had call'd him † φιλοπαλίτης. And *Plistonax*, the Son of *Pausanias*, when an Oratour of *Athens* said the *Lacedemonians* were an illiterate and ignorant people,

[†] He seems to allude to the Questions which us'd to be put to the young Lads, as Who is the best man in Sparta?

* A lover of the *Lacedemonians*.

† A lover of his own Country-men.

people, told him, You say true, Sir, for we only of all the *Grecians* have learned none of your ill conditions. One asked *Archidamus* what number of fighting men there might be of the *Spartans*, he answered, Enough, Sir, to drive out the wicked.

We may guess too at their manner of speaking by their very Jests. For they us'd not to throw them out at random, but the very wit of them was grounded upon some considerable sense. For instance, one being ask'd to go hear a Man who exactly counterfeited the voice of a Nightingale, answered, Sir, I have heard the Nightingale it self. Another having read this following inscription upon a Tomb,

*Extinguishing a cruel Tyranny
At Selinum these brave Patriots did dye:*

made this clinch upon it, that they well deserv'd to dye, for instead of extinguishing the Tyranny they should have let it burn out. A Lad being offer'd some Cocks of the Game so hardy that they would dye upon the place, said that he car'd not for Cocks that would dye hardy, but for such that would live and kill others. Another would by no means be carried home in a Chair, as he saw some others were, because, said he, I cannot conveniently rise in it to pay

pay respect to my betters. In short, their answers were so sententious and pertinent, that one said well, that to be a Philosopher or a *Lacedæmonian* signified the same thing. And though they were a very active people, they exercised their minds much more than their bodies.

Nor were they less careful to sing and compose well, than to express themselves in proper terms, and to speak to the point: And their very Songs had such a life and spirit in them, that they enflam'd and ravish'd mens minds with a desire to do great and good Actions; the style of them was plain and without affectation; the subject always serious and moral; most usually it was in *praise* of such men as had dy'd in the *bed of honour* for defence of their Country, or in *derision* of those who would not venture their lives willingly in so good a cause: the former they declared happy, and almost Gods, and the latter they describ'd as most miserable and below the condition of men. In these Verses too they talk'd high of what Feats they would do or had done, and vaunted of themselves as the bravest and most valiant people in the World. The expression was different and suitable to their several ages: for you must understand that they had three Choirs of them in their solemn Festivals, the first of the old Men, *Their Poetry.*
the

the second of the young Men, and the last of the Children : (to give a taste of them) the old Men began thus,

*We have been (though now spent and old)
Hardy in Field, in Battel Bold.*

The young Men answered them, singing,

*We are so now: let who dares try,
We'll conquer, or in Combat dye.*

The Children came last, and said,

**To the
young men.* *What ever ye can * do or † tell,
† To the
old men. We one day will you both excel.*

Indeed if we will take the pains to consider their Compositions, and the Airs on the Flute to which they were set when they march'd on to Battel, we shall find that *Terpander* and *Pindar* had reason to say that Musick was not incompatible with, but rather an help and incentive to Valour. The first says thus of them.

*Justice goes in procession through their Streets,
And Mars the Muses in sweet consort meets.*

And *Pindar*—

Blest

Blest Sparta ! in whose State we find
Things almost inconsistent join'd :
In quiet times your Martial-toils not cease,
And Wars adorn'd with the soft arts of Peace.
Gray-headed Wisdom Reigns in your Debates,
And well bred youth with equal Fire,
Handle their Arms, or touch their Lyre ;
To Gods, the Musick of well ordered States !

So that these two Poets describe the Spartans
as being no less musical than warlike, and
the Spartan Poet himself confirms it :

*Our Sports prelude to War, and Musicks charms
Inspire deliberate Valour to our Arms.*

And even before they engag'd in Battel, the King did first Sacrifice to the Muses (in all likelihood) to put them in mind of the manner of their Education, and of the severe Judgment that would be past upon their actions, and thereby to animate them to the performance of some gallant exploit: sometimes too the Lacedemonians abated a little the severity of their manners in favour of their young men, suffering them to curle and perfume their Hair, and to have costly Arms and fine Clothes; and as well pleas'd they were to see them marching out full of mettle and spirit to an Engagement, as the other

other Græcians were to see their trim'd Horses Neighing, and pressing for the * Course.
* He al-
ludes to the
Olympick
Games. And therefore when they came to be well-grown Lads, they took a great deal of care of their Hair, to have it parted and trim'd, especially against a day of Battel, pursuant to a Saying of their Law-giver, that a large head of Hair set off a good face to more advantage, and those that were ugly it made more ugly and dreadful.

When they were in the Field their Exercises were generally more moderate, their Fare not so hard, nor so strict a hand held over them by their Officers, so that they were the only people in the World to whom *War* gave *repose*. When their Army was drawn up in Battel array, and the Enemy near, the King Sacrific'd a Goat, commanded the Souldiers to set their Garlands upon their heads, and the Pipers to play the Tune of the Hymn to *Castor*, and himself advancing forwards began the *Pæan*, which serv'd for a signal to fall on. It was at once a delightful and terrible sight to see them march on to the tune of their Flutes, without ever troubling their Order, or confounding their Ranks, no disorder in their minds or change in their countenance, but on they went to the hazard of their lives as unconcernedly and cheerfully, as if it had been to lead up a Dance, or to hear a *confort*

consort of Musick. Men in this temper were not likely to be possessed with fear, or transported with fury, but they proceeded with a *deliberate Valour*, full of hope and good assurance, as if some Divinity had sensibly assisted them. The King had always about his Person some one who had been crown'd in the Olympick Games: and upon this account a *Lacedæmonian* refus'd a considerable Present, which was offered to him upon condition that he would not come into the Lists, and having with much to do thrown his Antagonist, some of the Spectators said to him, And now, Sir *Lacedæmonian*, what are you the better for your Victory? he answered smiling, O, a great deal, Sir, for *I shall have the honour to fight by the side of my Prince*. After they had routed an Enemy they pursu'd him till they were well assured of the Victory, and then they sounded a retreat, thinking it base and unworthy of a Græcian People, to cut Men in pieces who durst not look them in the face, or lift up their hands against them. This manner of dealing with their Enemies did not only shew their magnanimity, but had a politick end in it too; for knowing that they kill'd only those who made resistance, and gave quarter to the rest, they generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by flight.

T

Hippias

Hippias the Sophister says, that *Lycurgus* himself was a very Valiant and Experienced Commander. *Philostephanus* attributes to him the first division of the Cavalry in-

* ελαφος
Twelve in
a side, the
Captain
and Lieu-
tenant ex-
cepted.

to * Troops of fifties in a square Body: but *Demetrius* the Phalerian says quite the contrary, and that he made all his Laws in a continued Peace. And indeed the cessation of Arms procured by his means and management, inclines me to think him a good-natur'd man, and one that lov'd quietness and peace. Notwithstanding all this *Hermippus* tells us, that he had no hand in the Ordinance, that *Iphitus* made it, and *Lycurgus* came only as a Spectator, and that by meer accident too. Being there he heard a voice of one behind him, blaming, and wondering at him that he did not encourage his Country-men to resort to so illustrious an Assembly; turning about and seeing no man, he concluded that it was a voice from Heaven, and thereupon immediately went to *Iphitus*, and was assistant to him in ordering the Ceremonies of that Feast, which by his means were better establish'd, more famous and magnificent than before that time they were.

To return to the *Lacedæmonians*. Their discipline and order of life continued still after they were full grown Men. No one was allowed to live after his own fancy;

but

but the whole City resembled a great Camp, in which every man had his share of Provisions, and business set out, and look'd upon himself not so much born to serve his own ends as the interest of his Country. Therefore if they were commanded nothing else, they went to see the Lads perform their Exercises, to teach them something useful, or to learn it themselves of those who knew better. And here I cannot but declare my Opinion, that one of the greatest Blessings *Lycurgus* procur'd to his people was, the abundance of leisure, which proceeded from his forbidding to them the exercise of any mean and mechanical Trade; for it was but lost labour to waste themselves with anxiety and toil, to heap together a great deal of money, which when they had got was but useless lumber in their house: for the *Ilotes* till'd their ground for them, and paid them yearly in kind the quantity above-mention'd, without any trouble of theirs. To this purpose there goes a story of a *Lacedæmonian*, who happen'd to be at *Athens* in Assises time, in which a Citizen had been punish'd for *idleness*, and came home much discontented and comfortless: the *Lacedæmonian* was much surpriz'd at it, and desired his Friend to shew him the man who was condemned for *living like a*

Gentleman: so much beneath them they esteemed all mechanical Employments, and the care of heaping up riches.

I need not tell you that upon the prohibition of Gold and Silver all Law-suits immediately ceas'd, for there was now no griping avarice, or poverty oppressed, but equality with abundance, and a quiet life with sobriety.

*How they
spent their
time.*

* *These
were called
Aēgai.*

All their time (except when they were in the Field) was taken up in dancing, in feasting, in their exercises, and hunting matches, or * places where good company us'd to meet. Those who were under thirty years of age were not allow'd to go into the Market-place, but had the necessaries of their Family supply'd by the care of their Relations and Lovers: nor was it for the credit of elderly men to be seen too often in the Market-place; it was esteem'd more honourable for them to frequent the Academies and places of Conversation, where they discours'd agreeably, not of the price of Pepper, and interest of Money, but gravely pass'd their judgment on some action worth considering; extoll'd the good, and blam'd those who were otherwise, and that in a facetious way, so that the *Feather* of the Jest made the *Arrow* pierce the deeper, and left some useful remark or correction behind it. Nor was *Lycurgus* himself so sullen and

and cynically grave, but that now and then he would ruffle his gravity, and || sacrifice ^{This is reported by Solinus.} an hour to the little God of *Laughter*, to whom he dedicated a Statue in his House; to the end that by sprinkling and seasoning their conversations with mirth, they might more willingly endure the trouble of their strict and hard life. To conclude this, he bred up his Citizens in such sort, that they neither *would*, nor *could* live by themselves, but endeavouring to incorporate them all together, like *swarms* of Bees in a cluster about their *King*; wholly divesting themselves of their own narrow interests, and forgetting themselves by the continual extasie they were in to promote the publick interest and honour. What their Sentiments were will better appear by a few of their Sayings, *Pædaretus* not being admitted into the List of the three hundred who were chosen to make good ^{This exploit is excellently describ'd by Herodotus. lib. 7.} the Pass at the *Thermopyle*, return'd home very joyful and well pleas'd; saying, That it did his heart good to find that there were in *Sparta* three hundred better men than himself. And *Pisistratidas* being sent ^{The publick spirit of the Spartans.} with some other Ambassador to the Lords Lieutenants of the King of *Perſia*, being ask'd by them, Whether they came of their own accord, or were sent by the State? answered, That if they obtain'd

what they came for, they were commission'd by the Publick, if not, they came of themselves. Argileonide asking some strangers who came from *Amphipolis*, if her Son *Braſidas* dy'd couragiouſly, and as became a *Spartan*, they fell a praizing him to a high degree, and ſaid, There is not ſuch another left in *Sparta*; She took them up ſhort, Hold, Gentlemen, *Braſidas* indeed was a valiant Man, but there are ſtill in *Sparta* many more valiant than he.

The Senate (as I ſaid before) conſifted of them who were his chief aiders and assistants in the forming of the Government, and the vacancies he ordered to be supply'd out of the best and most deserving men who were full threescore years old; and we need not wonder if there was much ſtriving and ſtickling for it; for what more glorious competition could there be among men than this, in which it was not

As it was disputed, who ſhould bear away the prize of ſwiftneſſ, or ſtrength, but who was the wifeliſt and moſt vertuous man in the City, to whom ſhould be entrusted for ever after (as the reward of his merits) the power and authority of the whole Commonwealth, and in whose hands ſhould be depoſited the honour, the lives and fortunes of all his Country-men? The manner of their

their Election was as follows; The people being called together, some persons deputed by the Senate, were lock'd up in a Room near the place of Election, which was so contriv'd that they could neither see nor be seen by the Competitors or people, but only hear the noise of the Assembly without. (For they decided this, as most other affairs of moment by the shouts of the People.) This done, the Competitors were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another, as by lot fell out, and through the Assembly they pass'd in order without speaking a word. Those who were lock'd up, had writing Tables with them, in which they set down the number of the shouts and the greatness of them, without knowing to which of the Candidates each of them were made. But he who was found to have the most and loudest acclamations was declar'd *Senatour* duly elected. Upon this he had a Garland set upon his head, and went in procession to all the Temples to give thanks to the Gods: a great number of young men followed him, making the Streets to echo with his praises: The young Ladies too sung Verses in his honour, and a bleſſed man they call'd him who had led so virtuous a Life. As he went round the City in this manner each

The An- of his Relations invited him into his
cients ne- House to a handsome Supper, saying, *The*
ver invited *any one to* *City honours you with this Banquet:* but he,
dinner. instead of accepting their Invitation, re-
 turned to the place where he formerly us'd
 to eat, and was serv'd as before, except-

**This was* *the manner* *of the Ea-* *tries to ex-*
Eastern Coun- *press their* *respect to*
any one, and *from them* *probably the* *Græcians* *took it.*
Vertue, I present it to you, as an acknowledg-
ment of yours: upon this she was triumph-
 antly waited upon home by the Women, as
 he was by the Men.

The manner
of their
Burials.

Other peo-
ple gene-
rally buried
them with-
out their
Walls, and
long after
took up the
custom of
burning
them.

As touching Burials, *Lycurgus* made ver-
 ry wise Orders: for first of all, to cut off
 the superstition of Burying-places, he al-
 low'd them to bury their dead within the
 City, and even round about their Temples,
 to the end that their youth might be used
 to such Spectacles, and not be afraid to see
 a dead body; and withal to rid them of
 the conceit that to touch a Corpse, or to
 tread upon a Grave, would defile a man.
 In the next place he commanded them to
 bury in Woollen (which Cloth was to be red)
 and put nothing else into the ground
 with them, except, if they pleas'd, a few

* Branches

* Branches or Leaves of Olive. He would * To inti-
not allow of *Talkative Grave-stones*, nor mante that
suffer so much as the names to be inscrib'd, then they
but only of such Men who dy'd in the are in
Wars, or Women which were profess'd of peace and
some Religious Order. The time too ap- at rest.
pointed for Mourning was very short; for it lasted but eleven days, and on the twelfth they were to do Sacrifice to *Proserpina*, and leave off their Mourning: so that we may see as he cut off all superfluity, so in things necessary there was nothing so small and trivial which had not some profitable Lesson and Instruction in it, and caus'd an emulation of Vertue or hatred to Vice. All *Lacedæmon* was like a great Volume, every Leaf of which was fill'd with good Rules, and great Examples: which presenting themselves at all times and in all places to their thoughts, did insensibly assimilate the minds of the lookers on, and force them to imitate that always which they could not but meet with every where.

And this was the reason why he forbid them to travel into foreign Countries, viz. ^{He forbids travelling into other Countries.} lest they should bring in foreign Vices and Vanities along with them: he thought it a most senseless thing to take a Journey into another Climate, to learn what Cloaths they should wear the next Winter: and to think themselves

themselves besieged and half undone if they were forc'd to drink the *Liquors* of their *own Country*; besides, this itch after novelty encreasing, makes men think of innovations in matters of more importance, and to desire new *forms* and *fashions* in the Government too. Withal he banished all stranger from *Lacedæmon* who could not give a very good reason for their coming thither; not because he was afraid lest they should inform themselves of and imitate his manner of Government, (as *Thucidides* would have it believed) but lest they should introduce something contrary to good manners; for strange persons bring usually strange discourse along with them, that produces new thoughts and persuasions, and different opinions destroy the harmony of conversation and civil society; and therefore as careful he was to keep out all foreign customs as men usually are to keep out suspected persons in the time of a reigning Pestilence.

*Therefore
he approves
their mur-
thering
their In-
fants.

Hitherto, * I for my part can see no sign of injustice or want of equity in the Constitutions of this Commonwealth, and therefore I can by no means agree with those, who say they are very well contriv'd to make men good Souldiers, but exceedingly defective in civil justice and

and honesty. But as for that *secret Ordinance* (if it were one of *Lycurgus's*, as *Aristotle* says it was) it is truly enough to put him and *Plato* too out of conceit both with the Law-giver and his Government. By this Ordinance those who had the care of the young men, dispatch'd privately some of the ablest of them into the Country from time to time; arm'd only with their Daggers, and taking a little necessary Provision with them, these in the day-time hid themselves in the Thickets and Cliffs, and there lay close, but in the night they issued out into the High-ways and kill'd all the *Ilotes* they could light upon; sometimes they set upon them by day, as they were at work in the Fields, and murthered them in cold Blood, as *Thucidides* says in his History of the *Peloponnesian War*. The same Author tells us, that a good number of them being * crowned by Proclamation, and enfranchised for their good services, and led about to all the Temples in token of honour, disappeared all of a sudden, being about the number of two thousand, and no man neither then nor since could give an account how they came by their deaths. And *Aristotle* adds that the *Ephori*, so soon as they were entred into their

* In token
of Freedom
granted.

their Office, us'd to declare War against them, that they might be massacred with a pretence of *Law*. It is confess'd on all hands, that the *Spartans* dealt with them very hardly ; for it was a thing common to force them to drink to excess, and to lead them in that condition into their publick Halls, that their Children might see what a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken man is : they made them to dance uncomely Dances, and sing ridiculous Songs, forbidding them expressly to meddle with any that were serious, for they would not have them profaned by their mouths. Upon this account when the *Thebans* made an Invasion into *Laconia*, and took a great number of the *Ilotes* Prisoners, they could by no means perswade them to sing the Odes of

* Lacede-
monian
Poets.

* *Terpander, Alcman, or Spendor*, for (said they) they are our *Masters Songs*, we dare not sing them. So that it was truly observed by one, that in *Sparta* he who was Free was most so, and he that was a Slave there was the greatest Slave in the world. For my part I am of opinion that these outrages and cruelties began to be exercis'd in *Sparta* long after the time of *Lycurgus*, namely soon after the great Earthquake, at which time the *Ilotes* made a general Insurrection, and, joyning with the

the *Messenians*, laid the whole Country waste, and brought the City to the greatest extremity it had ever been reduc'd to. For I cannot be perswaded that e-
ver *Lycurgus* invented or put in force so wicked and barbarous an *Act* as * this was, especially when I look back upon the gentleness of his Disposition, and his unpre-judic'd Justice upon all other occasions; not to say that it were a piece of high *impiety* to think hard of him, since || *God himself* || *The Oracle above-mentioned.*

Vertue.

To draw now towards the last Scenes of his Life; when he perceiv'd that his Laws had taken deep root in the minds of his Country-men, that custom had ren-dred them familiar and easie, that his Commonwealth grew apace *daily*, and was now able to go alone, he had such a *calm* joy and contentation of mind, as, * *Plato* * in *Ti-* somewhere tells us the Maker of the *mæo*. World had, when he had finish'd and set this great *Machine* a moving, and found every thing *very good* and exactly to an-swer his great *Idea*; so *Lycurgus*, taking an unspeakable pleasure in the contem-plation of the *greatness* and *beauty* of his Work, seeing every spring and particle of his new Establishment in its due order and course, at last he conceived a vast thought

thought to make it *immortal* too, and, as far as human forecast could reach, to deliver it down *unchangeable* to posterity. To bring this to pass, he called an extraordinary Assembly of all the People, he told them that he now thought every thing reasonably well establish'd, both for the good of the publick, and for the happiness of each particular; but that there was one thing still behind, and that of the greatest importance, which he thought not fit to impart until he had consulted the Oracle: in the mean time his desire was, that they would punctually observe his Laws without any the least alteration until his *return*, and then he would do as the God should direct him. They all consented readily, and prayed him to hasten his Voyage: but before he departed he administred an Oath to the two Kings, the Senate and Commons, that they would inviolably observe his Ordinances during his absence. This done he set sail for *Delphos*, and having sacrific'd to *Apollo*, ask'd him, *Whether he approv'd of the Laws he had establish'd?* the Oracle answered, *That his Laws were excellent, and that the People which observ'd them should live in Happiness and Renown.* *Lycurgus* took the Oracle in Writing, and sent it over to *Sparta*; having sacrific'd the second

cond time to *Apollo*, and taking his leave of his Friends, and his Son, he resolv'd to dye in this Voyage, that the *Spartans* might never be releas'd from the Oath they had taken. He was now about that Age, in which Life was still *tolerable*, and yet a *Wise Man* would dye without *regret*; especially when he consider'd, *That Death then comes seasonably when Life is at the best*. He resolv'd therefore to make an end of himself by a total abstinence from meat, and even dying to set a copy of *temperance* to his Country-men; for he thought that a Statesman and good Patriot should serve his Country with his last breath, and that the end of their lives should be no more idle and unprofitable than all that went before; especially since all men have a curiosity to know the end of great Personages, and *believe* most firmly, and remember *longest* what they *did* or *said* dying: and in this he had a double end, the one to secure and crown his own happiness, by a Death suitable to so honourable a Life; and the other, that it might be a Seal and Confirmation of his Laws, especially since that his Countrey-men had solemnly sworn the observation of them until his return: nor was he deceived in his expectations, for the City of *Lacedæmon* continued the chief

Lycurgus
pines him-
self to
death.

chief City of all Greece for the space of five hundred years, mainly by their strict observance of *Lycurgus's Laws*; in all which time there was no manner of alteration made during the Reign of fourteen Kings, until the time of *Agis* the Son of *Archidamas*.

**Tribunes too were establish'd at Rome to maintain the privi-leges of the people, but in time they prov'd the ruine of the popular Government.* For the new Creation of the *Ephori* (*who at first were chosen in favour of the People) were so far from diminishing, that they very much confirm'd the power of the Senate.

In the time of *Agis* Gold and Silver found a way into *Sparta*, and all those mischiefs which attend the immoderate desire of Riches. *Lysander* promoted much this disorder, for by bringing in rich Spoils from the Wars, although himself was incorrupt, yet by this means he fill'd his Country with Avarice and Luxury, directly against the Laws and Ordinances of *Lycurgus*; which so long as they were in force *Sparta* resembled some holy Personage or particular Philosopher (so unanimous they were, and as it were acted by one Soul) rather than a great Commonwealth and Metropolis of an Empire. And as the Poets feign of *Hercules*, that with his Lion's Skin and his Club, he went over the world, punishing the Wicked and extirpating Tyrants; so may it be said of the *Lacedæmonians*, that with a piece

a piece of * Parchment and a plain Frieze * *The σχύλην.* Coat, they gained the Sovereignty of Greece, and (which is more) their *affections* too ; they deposed all usurp'd Powers, were the *Commanders* in War, and the *Arbiters* of Peace, and Judges in Civil Differ-ences or Seditions : and this they often did without so much as taking their Buckler in their hand, but barely by sending some *plain Man*, without *attendance*, who went under the Character of the *Lace-dæmonian Ambassadour* ; and they swarmed about him at his coming like Bees about their King to receive his Orders ; which, without saucy Remonstrances and Proviso's, they immediately put in execution. Such a veneration they had for the equity and good conduct of this illustrious Commonwealth.

And therefore I cannot but wonder at those who say, that the *Spartans* were good and obedient Subjects, but not skill'd in the Art of Governing ; and for proof of it alledge a Saying of King *Theopompus*, who when one said that *Sparta* held up so long because their Kings could *Command* well, he reply'd, nay, rather, because the People know so well how to *obey*. For indeed those who cannot command wisely, are seldom or never well serv'd : on the other hand, a skilful Leader

der is always readily followed. And as it is the part of a good Rider to train his Horse to turn, or stop, or go on at his pleasure : so is it the greatest piece of ^{* βασικὴ ὁμηρία.} King-craft to teach their Subjects obedience : Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* so ordered matters, that People did not only endure, but even desir'd to be their Subjects. For they did not use to petition them for Ships, or Money, or a supply of armed Men, but only for a *Spartan Commander* ; and having obtain'd one, us'd him with honour and reverence ; for so the *Sicilians* behav'd themselves to *Gilippus*, the *Chalcidians* to *Braidas*, and all the Colonies of the *Græcians* in *Asia* to *Lysander*, *Agestalus* and *Callicratidas* : In short, they esteem'd and call'd them the *Peacemakers*, the *Reformers*, the *Correctors* of the licence both of Princes and People ; and had their Eyes always upon the City of *Sparta* as the perfect Model of good Manners and wise Government. The rest seem'd as *Scholars*, they were the Masters of *Greece* ; and to this *Stratonicus* pleasantly alluded, when in merriment he pretended to make a Law, that the *Athenians* should keep Processions in the mysteries of *Ceres*, the *Eleans* should dispose of the Prizes at the Olympick Games (as being best skill'd in matters of this nature) and that

that if either of them did amiss the *Lacedæmonians* should be well beaten. *Antisthenes* too, one of the Scholars of *Socrates*, said well of the *Thebans*, who were become very proud for their single Victory at * *Leuctres*, *That they look'd like School-boys* ^{* By the conduct of Epaminondas.} *who newly had beaten their Master.* These indeed were merry Sayings, but yet may serve to testifie the opinion men then had of the *Spartans*.

However it was not the design of *Lycurgus* that his City should govern a great many others; he thought rather that the happiness of a Kingdom, as of a private man, consisted chiefly in the exercise of Virtue, and mutual Love of the Inhabitants; his principal aim was to make them nobly minded, content with their own, not apt to follow vain hopes, but moderate in all their enterprises; and by consequence able to maintain themselves and continue long in safety. And therefore all those who have written well of Politicks, as *Plato*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, and several others, have taken *Lycurgus* for their Model, as appears by their Writings: but these great men left only vain projects and words behind them, whereas *Lycurgus*, without writing any thing, left a flourishing Government, which as it was never thought of before him, so can it scarcely

He seems to reflect upon the Athenians, who ruin'd their State by striving rashly to enlarge it.

be imitated in following ages; so that he stands for an undeniable Proof, that a *perfect* wise man was not so meer a notion and chymæra as some men thought. He hath obliged the World not with one single Man, but with a whole Nation of Philosophers, and therefore deserves preference before all other Statists, because he put that in practice of which they only had

* *None of the kindest Judges of mankind* ^{those who went before him.} *himself* was so *vinc'd* of his merit, that he acknowledges they did him less honour after his Death than he deserv'd, although they built Temples, and offered Sacrifice to him as to a God.

It is reported that when his Bones were brought home to *Sparta*, they were struck with Lightning; an accident which befel no eminent Person but himself and *Euripides*, who was buried at *Arethusa* a City of *Macedon*: and this may serve for consolation to those who have an honour for that

|| For Euripides was accused of Atheism. || excellent Poet, That he had the same fate with that holy man and favourite of the Gods.

Some say *Lycurgus* dy'd in the City of *Cirrha*, * others, that he dy'd at *Elis*, and others at *Crete*, in a Town of which (call'd *Pergamy*) his Tomb was to be seen close by the High-way side. He left but one Son, nam'd *Antiorus*, who dy'd without issue. His Relations and Friends kept

an

an annual Commemoration of him, and the days of the Feast were called *Lycurgides*. *Aristocrates*, the Son of *Hipparchus*, says that he dy'd in *Crete*, and that the Candiots, at his desire, when they had burn'd his Body, cast the Ashes into the Sea ; for fear lest that if his *Reliques* should be transported to *Lacedæmon*, the people might pretend themselves released from their Oaths, and make innovations in the Government.

*And thus much may suffice for the Life
and Actions of Lycurgus.*

V 3 THE

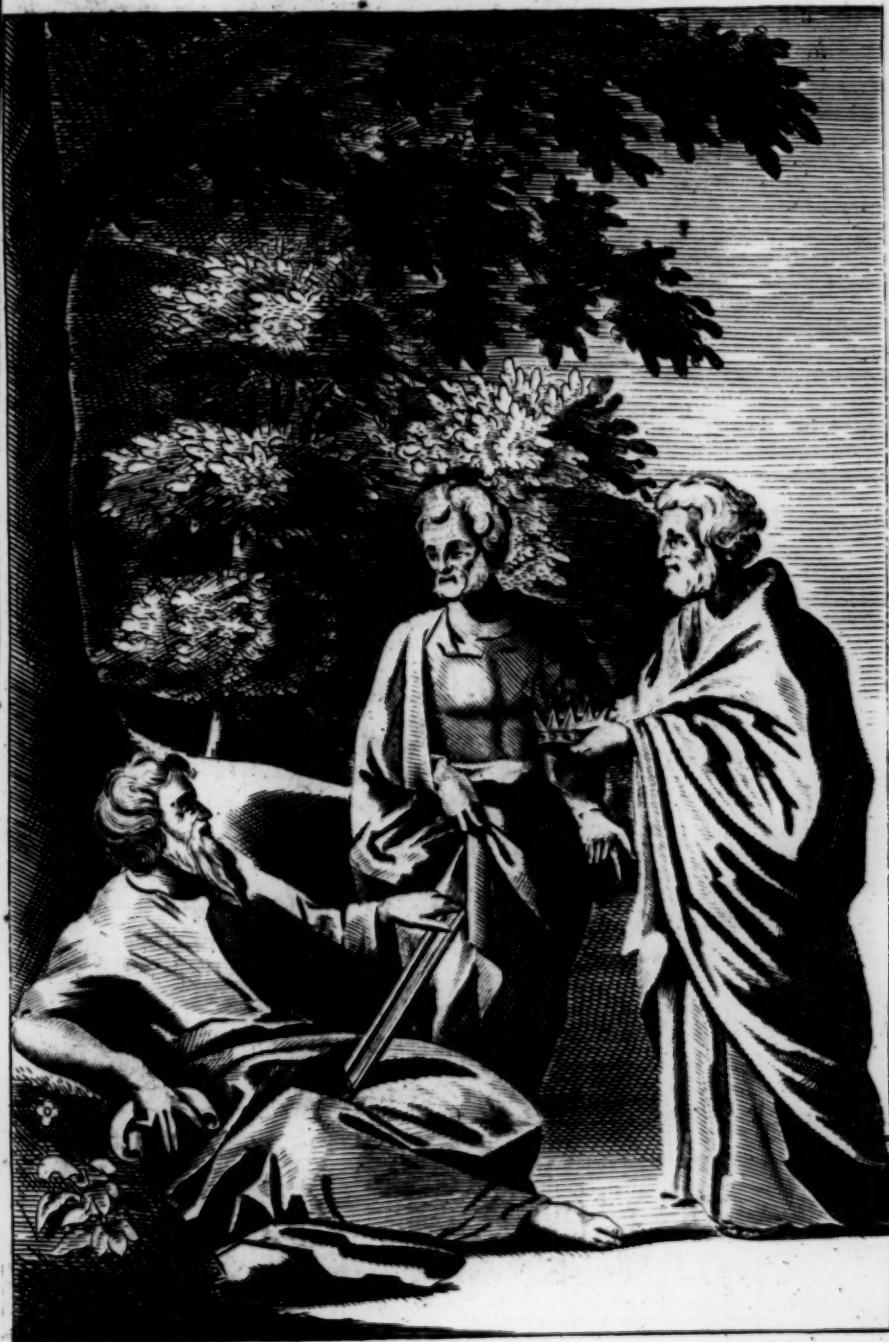
THE
LIFE
OF
NUMA POMPILIUS.

English'd from the Greek,
By Sir Paul Rycaut.

The Romans ambitious of Consanguinity to Numa.

Though many Noble Families of Rome derive their Original from *Numa Pompilius*, yet there is great diversity amongst Historians concerning the time in which he reigned: a certain Writer called *Clodius* in a Book of his, entitled, *The Chronology of past times*, avers, that the ancient Registers of *Rome* were lost when that City was sacked by the *Gauls*, and that those which are now extant, are counterfeited

NUMA POMPILUS.





counterfeited to flatter and serve the humour of great Men, who are pleased to have their pedigree derived from some ancient and noble Lineage, though in reality that Family hath no relation to them; And though it be commonly reported, that *Numa* was a Scholar, and a familiar acquaintance of *Pythagoras*; yet it is again contradicted by those, who affirm, that he neither was acquainted with the *Græcian* Language, nor Learning; and that he was a Person of that natural Talent and abilities of Mind, as of himself to attain unto Vertue, or else that his inclinations were cultivated by some foreign Instructor, whose Rules and Doctrine were more excellent and sublime than those of *Pythagoras*. Some affirm also, that *Pythagoras* was not a contemporary with *Numa*, but lived at least five Ages after him; howsoever it is probable, that some other *Pythagoras*, a native of *Sparta*, who, in the third year of *Numa's* reign, which was about the sixteenth Olympiad, won a Prize at the *Olympick* Race, might be the Person, who, in his Travels through *Italy*, having gained an acquaintance and familiarity with *Numa*, might administer some directions and rules to him for the Constitution of his Kingdom; for which reason, at the insti-

*Various re-
ports con-
cerning
him.*

gation of this *Pythagoras*, many of the *Laconian Laws* and *Customs* might probably be introduced amongst the *Roman Institutions*. Nor is it true, that *Numa* was descended of the *Sabines*, who declare themselves to be a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, nor can we make any just calculate from the periods of the *Olympick Games*, which though lately published by one *Elias Hippia*, yet carry not sufficient force of argument, and authority to render them authentick. Wherefore what we have collected of most assured truth, concerning *Numa*, we shall deliver, taking our beginning from that place which is most pertinent to our purpose.

It was the thirty seventh year, accounted from the Foundation of *Rome*, when *Romulus* then reigning, did on the fifth day of the Month of *July*, called the *Capratine Nones*, offer a publick Sacrifice at the Lake of *Capra*, in presence of the Senate and People of *Rome*: But then on a sudden arose so furious a Tempest, which, with black Clouds and Thunder rending the Air, made an eruption on the Earth, which affrighted the common people with such confusion, that they fled and were dispersed;

The Fate of Romulus. In this Whirlwind *Romulus* disappeared, his Body being never since found either living or dead. This accident gave occasion to the

the World to censure very hardly the practice of the Patricians; as if that they, being weary of Kingly Government, and exasperated of late by the imperious deportment of *Romulus* towards them, had plotted against his Life and made him away, that so they might assume the Authority and Government into their own hands: but this report was soon confuted by the testimony of *Proculus*, a noble Person, who swore that he saw *Romulus* catch'd up into Heaven in his Arms and Vestments, and as he ascended cry'd out, that they should hereafter style him by the name of *Quirinus*; which attestation gained so much credit in the minds of the People, that they ordain'd Divine Honours to be perform'd towards him, as to one not dead but translated to a sublimer state, above the condition of mortal nature.

*Whence
named
Quirinus.*

This Commotion being appeased, the City was greatly divided about the Election of another King, for the minds of the ancient *Romans* and the new Inhabitants were not as yet grown into that perfect union and coalition of spirits, but that there were diversities of Factions amongst the Commonalty, and Jealousies and Emulations amongst the Senatours; for though all agreed that it was necessary to have a King, yet what Person or of what Nation was the dispute.

*A contest in
Rome a-
bourchusing
a King.*

dispute. For those who had been Builders of the City with *Romulus*, though they had already yielded a share of their Lands and dwellings to the *Sabines*, who were Aliens, yet could not be perswaded to resign into their hands the Regal Authority. On the other side the *Sabines* alledged, that their King *Tatius* being deceased, they had peaceably submitted to the obedience of *Romulus*, so that now their turn was come to have a King chosen out of their own Nation; nor did they esteem themselves inferior to the *Romans*, nor to have contributed less than they to the increase of *Rome*, which without their numbers and association could never have merited the name of a City.

Thus did both Parties argue and dispute their cause; but lest in the meantime Sedition and Discord should occasion Anarchy and confusion in the Commonwealth, it was agreed and ordained, That the hundred and fifty Senatours should interchangeably execute the Office of supreme Magistrate, and with all the Formalities and Rites of Regality offer the solemn Sacrifices, and dispatch judicial Causes for the space of six hours by day and six by night; the which vicissitude and equal distribution of power would remove all emulation from amongst the Senatours, and envy from the people;

People; when they could behold one elevated to the degree of a King, levelled in a few hours after, to the private condition of a Subject: which Form of Government was termed by the *Romans*, *Interregnum*. Nor yet could this plausible and modest way of Rule escape the censure of the Vulgar, who termed it a design of some few, who, to abolish the kingly Government, intended to get the power into their own hands: and therefore to circumvent this plot, they came at length to this conclusion, that the Party which did elect should choose one out of the Body of the other; that if the *Romans* were Electours, they were to make choice of a *Sabine*, and if the *Sabines* elected, they were to choose a *Roman*: this was esteemed the best expedient to reconcile all parties and interests, for that the created Prince would be obliged to favour the one for their Suffrages in his Election, as he was the other on score of relation and consanguinity. In pursuance of this agreement the *Sabines* remitted the choice to the ancient *Romans*, being more inclinable to receive a *Sabine* King elected by the *Romans*, than to see a *Roman* exalted by the *Sabines*: consultations being accordingly held, *Numa Pompilius*, of the *Sabine* Race, was elected; a Person so famous, and of that high reputation, that though

*Their final
determina-
tion.*

*Numa cho-
sen King.*

though he were not actually residing at *Rome*, yet no sooner was he nominated than accepted by the *Sabines* with applause and acclamation, equal to that freedom which the *Romans* shewed in his election.

The choice being declared and made publick, principal men of both parties, were appointed to compliment and intreat the Prince, that he would be pleas'd to accept the administration of the Kingly Government. Now this *Numa* resided at a famous City of the *Sabines* call'd *Cures*, whence both the *Romans* and *Sabines* gave themselves the name of *Quirites*, as a comprehensive name for both Associates; *Pomponius*, an illustrious person, was his Father, and he the youngest of his four Sons, being by Divine Providence born on the eleventh of the Kalends of *May*, which was the day on which the Foundation of *Rome* was laid: he was endued with a Soul rarely tempered by Nature, and disposed to Virtue, and excellently improved by Learning, Patience, and the studies of Philosophy; by which advantages of Art he regulated the disorderly motions of the mind, and rendred Violence and Oppression, which had once an honourable esteem amongst the barbarous Nations, to be vile and mean, making it appear, that there was no other Fortitude than that which subdu'd the Affections, and reduc'd them

The Romans whence call'd Quirites. Numa's Stock and Education.

them to the terms and restraints of Reason.

Thus whilst he banished all luxury and softness from his own home, he gave a clear and manifest indication to all Citizens and strangers of his sound and impartial judgment, not delighting himself in Divertisements or profitable Acquisitions, but in the worship of the immortal Gods, and in the rational contemplation of their Divine Power and Nature; to all which renown and fame, he added this farther Glory, that he took *Tatia* for his Wife, who was the Daughter of that *Tatius*, whom *Romulus* had made his Associate in the Government; nor yet did the advantage of this Marriage swell his vanity to such a pitch as to desire to dwell with his Father-in-Law at *Rome*; but rather to content himself to inhabit with his *Sabines*, and cherish his own Father in his old Age: the like inclinations had also *Tatia*, who preferred the private condition of her Husband before the honours and splendour she might have enjoyed in her Father's Court. This *Tatia*, as is reported, after she had lived for the space of thirteen years with *Numa* in conjugal society, dyed; and then *Numa*, leaving the conversation of the Town, betook himself to a Country life, and in a solitary manner dwelt in the Groves and Fields consecrated to the Gods; where
He marries Tatia.
the

the common fame was, he gained such acquaintance and familiarity with the Goddess *Egeria*, that he liv'd in those retirements free from all disturbances and perturbations of mind, and being inspired with the sublime and elevated pleasure of a Celestial Marriage, he had arrived to a beatitude in this life, and to a clear notion of Divine Sciences.

There is no doubt but that such fancies as these, have had their original from ancient Fables; such as the *Phrygians* recount of *Atis*, the *Bythinians* of *Herodotus*, the *Arcadians* of *Endymion*, and a thousand other Demons, which past Ages recorded for Saints, that were beatified and beloved of the Gods; nor doth it seem strange, if God, who places not his affection on Horses or Birds, should not disdain to dwell with the virtuous, and entertain a spiritual conversation with wise and devout Souls: though it be altogether irrational to believe, that the Divine Essence of any God or Demon is capable of a sensual or carnal love or passion for humane Beauty: And yet the wise *Egyptians*, did not conceive it an absurd fancy to imagin, that a Divine Essence might by a certain spiritual impulse apply it self to the nature of a Woman, and lay the first beginnings of Generation, though on the other side they concluded it impossible

sible for the Male-kind to have any congress or mixture with a Goddess, not considering that there can be no real coition, but where there is a mutual Communication of one to the other. The truth of the matter is this, those Men are only dear to the Gods, **who are virtuous**, and those are beloved by them whose actions are regulated by the rules of Divine Wisdom: And therefore it was no error of those who feigned, that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus* were beloved by *Apollo*; or that *Hippolytus*, the *Sicyonian* was so much in the favour of a certain God, that as often as he sailed from *Sicyon* to *Cirrha*, the God rejoiced and inspired the *Pythian* Prophets with this heroick Verse,

What persons acceptable to the Gods.

*Now doth Hippolytus return again,
And venture his dear life upon the Main.*

It is reported also that *Pan* became enamoured of *Pindar* for his Verses, and that a beatified Demon honoured *Hesiod* and *Archilochus* after their Deaths by the Muses; it is said also that *Aesculapius* sojourned with *Sophocles* in his life-time, of which many instances are extant to these days; and that being dead, another Deity took care to perform his Funeral-Rites: Wherefore if any credit may be given to these particular instances,

stances, why should we judge it incongruous, that a like Spirit of the Gods should inspire *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaster*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and many others, or that the Gods should conferr a meaner proportion of their favours on those who were Founders of Commonwealths, or busied in making Laws, and administration of the Political affairs of Kingdoms; Nay it is most reasonable to believe, that the Gods in their sober humour are assistent at the Counsels and serious debates of these men to inspire and direct them; as they do also Poets and Musicians, when in a more pleasant mood, they intend their own diversion: but, as *Bacchylis* said, Thoughts are free, and the way is open to every man's sentiment; yet in reality it cannot be denied, but that such Men, as *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and others, who were to deal with the seditious humours of Fanatick Citizens, and the unconstant disposition of the multitude, might lawfully establish their Precepts with the pretence of Divine Authority, and cheat them into such Politicks as tend to their own happiness. But to return to our purpose.

Numa's *Numa* was about forty years of age when
age when
courted to
be King. the Ambassadors came to make him offers of the Kingdom; the Speakers were *Proculus* and *Velesus*, the first was an ancient *Roman*,

Roman, and the other of the *Tatian* Facti-
on, and zealous for the *Sabine* party. Their
Speech was short, but pithy, supposing,
that when they came to tender a Kingdom,
there needed no long Oration or Argu-
ments to perswade him to an acceptance: but
contrary to their expectation they found
that they were forc'd to use many reasons
and intreaties to allure him from his quiet
and retir'd life, to accept the Government
of a City, whose Foundation was laid in
War, and grown up in martial Exercises;
wherefore, in presence of his Father and
Martius his Kinsman, he returned answer
in this manner; " That since every altera-
tion of a Man's life is dangerous to him,
it were meer madness for one that is com-
modious and easie, and provided with
all things necessary for a convenient sup-
port, to seek or endeavour a change,
though there were nothing more in it,
than that he prefers a turbulent and an
uncertain life before a quiet and a secure
condition. It is not difficult for a Man
to take his measures concerning the state
of this Kingdom by the Example of *Ro-*
mulus, who did not escape a suspicion,
of having plotted against the life of his
Collegue *Tatius*; nor was the Senate
free from the accusation, of having trea-
sonably murthered their Prince *Romulus*.

*His answer
to the Am-
bassadors.*

" And yet *Romulus* had the advantage to
" be thought of Divine race, and to be
" conserved by a miraculous manner in his
" infancy ; how then can we who are
" sprang from mortal Seed, and instructed
" with principles and rudiments received
" from the Men you know, be able to
" struggle with such apparent difficulties ?
" It is none of the least of my Commenda-
" tions, that my humour renders me unfit
" to reign, being naturally addicted to stu-
" dies, and pleased in the recesses of a
" quiet life ; I must confess that I am zeal-
" ous of Peace, and love it even with pas-
" sion, and that the Conversation of Men
" who assemble together to worship God,
" and to maintain an amicable Charity, is
" my chief business and delight ; and what
" time may be spared from this more ne-
" cessary Duty, I employ in cultivating my
" Lands and improving my Farms. But
" you *Romans*, whom *Romulus* perhaps
" may have left engaged in unavoidable
" Wars, require an active and brisk King,
" who may cherish that warlike humour
" in the People, which their late successes
" have encouraged and excited to a warm
" ambition of enlarging their Dominions :
" and therefore such a Prince as in this
" conjuncture should come to inculcate
" Peace, and Justice, and Religion into
" the

" the minds of the people, would appear
" ridiculous and despicable to them who
" resolve on War and Violentie, and re-
" quire rather a martial Captain than a pa-
" cifick Moderatour.

The *Romans* perceiving by these words, that he refused to accept the Kingdom, were the more instant and urgent with him, that he would not forsake and desert them in this condition, by suffering them to relapse into their former sedition and civil discord; which they must unavoidably do, if he accepted not their proffer, there being no person, on whom both parties could accord, but on himself; and at length his Father, and *Martius*, taking him aside, perswaded him to accept this offer, which was important, and rather was con-
He is importun'd by his Father and Kin-
man to accept it.

" Though (said they) you remain contented with your own Fortune, and court neither Riches nor Power, yet being endued with excellent Virtue, you may reasonably imagine, that such a Tenant of Justice was not given by the Gods to be hidden or concealed; and that, since the just Government of a Kingdom is the greatest service a man can perform towards God, he ought therefore by no means to decline and refuse Empire and Rule, which was the true sphere and sta-

“tion of wise and renowned men; and in
“which they had such an ascendant over
“mankind, as to influence their Sons with
“affections to Vertue, and to a Religious
“Worship of the Gods, in the most so-
“lemn and pompous manner, it being na-
“tural to men to fashion and conform
“themselves by the example and actions of
“their Prince. *Tatius*, though a Fo-
“reigner, was yet acceptable and in esteem
“of the *Romans*; and the memory of *Ro-*
“*mulus* was so precious to them, that after
“his decease, they voted Divine Honours
“to be paid to him; and now who knows,
“but that this people being victorious,
“may be satiated with the War, and with
“the Trophies and Spoils they have ac-
“quired, and may gladly entertain a gen-
“tle and pacifick Prince, who being a lo-
“ver of Justice may reduce the City into
“a model and course of Laws and judi-
“cial proceedings? And in case at any
“time the affections of this people should
“break forth into a furious and impetuous
“desire of War; were it not better then
“to have the reigns held by such a mode-
“rating hand, as is able to divert the fury
“another way, and spend it self on Fo-
“reigners? by which means those malig-
“nant humours which are the causes of ci-
“vil discord, will perspire and evaporate,
“and

" and all the *Sabines*, and neighbouring
" people, be reconciled and joined in an
" inseparable union and alliance with the
" City.

To these reasons and persuasions several other auspicious Omens (as is reported) did concur; and when his own Citizens understood what message the *Roman Ambassadors* had brought him, they all addressed themselves to him, instantly intreating him to accept the offer; being assured that it was the only means to appease all civil dissensions, and incorporate both people into one Body.

Numa yielding to these persuasions and reasons, having first performed Divine Service, proceeded to *Rome*; being met in his way by the Senate and People, who with an impatient desire came forth to receive him; the Women also welcomed him with joyful Acclamations, and Sacrifices were offered for him in all the Temples, and so universal was the joy, that they seem'd not to receive a King, but the addition of a new Kingdom. In this manner he descended into the *Forum*, where *Spurius Vetius*, whose turn it was to be Governour at that hour, putting it to the Vote, Whether *Numa* should be King; they all with one voice and consent cried out a *Numa*, a *Numa*. Then were the Regalities and *His religious Policy.*

Robes of Authority brought to him, but he refused to be invested with them, until he had first consulted and been confirmed by the Gods: so being accompanied by the Priests and * Augurs he ascended the Capitol, which at that time the *Romans* called the *Tarpeian Rock*. Then the chief of the Augurs covered his head, and turned his face towards the South: and, standing behind him, laid his right hand on the head of *Numa*, and prayed, casting his eyes every way, in expectation of some auspicious signal from the Gods. It is wonderful to consider with what silence and devotion the multitude, which was assembled in the Market-place, expected a happy event, which was soon determined by the appearance and flight of such Birds as were accounted fortunate. Then *Numa*, apparelling himself in his Royal Robes, descended from the Hill unto the People, by whom he was received, and congratulated with shouts and acclamations, and esteem'd by all for a holy and a devout Prince.

*The first
alterations
be made,
what.*

The first thing he did at his entrance into Government was to dismiss the Band of three hundred men, which had been *Romulus's* Life-guard, called by them *Celestes*; for that the maintenance of such a force would argue a diffidence of them that

that chose him, saying that he would not rule over that People of whom he conceived the least distrust. The next thing he did, was to add to the two Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, a third in honour of *Romulus*, who was called *Quirinalis*. The Romans anciently called their Priest *Flamines*, by corruption of the word *Pilamines*, from a certain Cap which they wore called *Pileus*; for in those times Greek words were more mixed with the Latin, than in this Age: So also that Royal Robe, which is called *Lænas*, *Juba* will have it from the Greek *Chlenas*; and that the name of *Camillus*, which is given to the Boy that serves in the Temple of *Jupiter*, was taken from the same which is given to *Mercury*, denoting his service and attendance on the Gods.

When *Numa* had by these actions insinuated himself into the favour and affection of the People, he began to dispose the humour of the City, which as yet was obdurate and rendred hard as Iron by War, to become more gentle and pliable by the applications of humanity and justice. It was then if ever the critical motion of the City, and, as *Plato* properly styles it, the time when it was in its highest fermentation. For this City in its original was the <sup>Rome a
harbour for
bold Per-</sup> receptacle of all bold and daring Spirits, _{sons.}

where Men of desperate Fortunes, joyning their hopes and force together, made frequent sallies and incursions on their Neighbours; the which, being prosperous, gave nourishment and increase to the City; and was then grown wrosty and settled in its fiercenes, as piles droven into the ground become more fixed and stable by the impulse and blows which the Rammer layes upon them. Wherefore *Numa*, judging that it was the Master-piece of his Art to mollifie and bend the stubborn and inflexible Spirits of this People, began to operate and practice upon them with the principles of Religion. He sacrificed often, and used Supplications and Religious Dances,

An awful sense of Religion the chief expedient to reduce obdurate spirits. in which most commonly he officiated in Person, being ever attended with a grave and religious Company; and then at other times he diverted their Minds with Pleasures and delightful Exercises, which he ever intermixed with their Devotions, so as to cool their fiery martial Spirits; and then to affect their fancies with a fear and reverence of God, he made them believe that strange Apparitions and Visions were seen, and prophetick Voices heard, and all to season and possess their Minds with a sense

Numa why

thought familiar with Pythagoras.

This method which *Numa* used, made it believed that he was much conversant with

Pythagoras,

Pythagoras, and that he drew and copied his learning and wisdom from him : For that in his institutions of a Common-wealth, he lays down Religion for the first Foundation and ground of it. It is said also that he affected the exterior garb and gestures of *Pythagoras*, and to personate him in all his motions. For as it is said of *Pythagoras*, that he had taught an Eagle to come at his lure, and stoop at his call, and that as he passed over the heads of the People, assembled at the *Olympick Games*, he made him shew his Golden Thigh, with many other rare arts and feats, which appeared miraculous ; on which *Timon Philatus* wrote this distich,

Pythagoras, that he might common fame
acquire,
Did with his Golden Verse Mens Minds
inspire.

In like manner *Numa* affected the story of a mountain Nymph to be in Love with him, and that he entertained familiar Conversation with the Muses, from whom he received the greatest part of his Revelations ; and having amongst them a particular devotion for the Lady which he named *Tacita*, he recommended the veneration of her to the *Romans*, which he did perhaps in imitation

tation of the *Pythagorean* Silence. His Opinion also of Images is very agreeable to the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*; who taught, that the First Principle of Being, which is not capable to be affected with sensual passions, is invisible, and incorrupt, and only to be comprehended by abstracted speculations of the mind. And for this reason he forbade the *Romans* to represent God in

*No Imagery
in the religious wor-
ship a-
mongst the
Romans
for the first
160 years.*

the form of Man or Beast; nor was there any painted or graven Image of a Deity admitted amongst them for the space of the first hundred and sixty years; all which time their Temples and Chappels were free and pure from Idols and Images, which seem'd too mean and beggarly representations of God, to whom no access was allowable but by the mind raised and elevated by divine contemplation. His Sacrifices also had great similitude with the Victims of *Pythagoras*, which were not celebrated with effusion of Blood, but consisted of the flour of Wheat, or Wine, and such sort of blended Offerings. And to make appear the inclination that *Numa* had to *Pythagoras* by other instances, there is a certain Dramatick Poet, a very ancient Author, and a Scholar of *Pythagoras*, who, in a certain Book of his dedicated to *Antenor*, reports, that *Pythagoras* was made a Free-man of *Rome*; and that *Numa* gave to one of his four

four Sons the name of *Mamercus*, which was the name of one of the Sons of *Pythagoras*; from whence, as they say, is sprung that ancient *Patrician Family* of the *Æmilians*, for that the King superadded the sir-name to him of *Æmilius*, to denote the softness of his words, and the fluency of his speech. I remember that when I was at *Rome*, I heard many say, that when the Oracle directed two Statues to be raised, one to the wisest, and another to the most valiant man of *Greece*, they presently erected two of Brals, one representing *Alcibiades*, and the other *Pythagoras*.

But, to pass by these matters, which are full of uncertainty, and not so important as to be worth our time to insist long on; we shall proceed to things more pertinent, and shew, that the original constitution of Priests, which are called *Pontifices*, is ascribed unto *Numa*, and that he himself, officiating in the first and primary Order, took upon himself the name of *Pontifex*, or High Priest; assuming that title of *Potens*, or powerful, as if those, whose Office obliged them to an attendance on the Gods, were endued with a super-eminent power and arbitrement above all others: some will have this name to be given by way of super-excellence, as to a sole Moderatour, in whose power it is to ordain and appoint

Numa first
constituted
the Ponti-
fices.

the

the times when Sacrifices and Divine Services are to be performed. But the most common opinion is the most absurd, which derives this word from *Pons*, which Latin signifies a Bridge, saying, that anciently the most solemn and holy Sacrifices were offered on Bridges, the care of which, both in maintaining and repairing, was the chief incumbrance of the Priests; and that it was not only esteemed by the *Romans* to be unlawful, but an abominable impiety to demolish or disorder the Planks or Fabrick of a Bridge; because that by appointment of the Oracle, it was to be only of Timber, and fastned with wooden Pins without Nails, or Cramps of Iron; and that the Stone Bridge was built many years after, when *Aemilius* was Questor, and that the old Bridge of Wood was demolished in the Reign of *Ancus Martius*, who was the Grand-son of *Numa* by his Daughter.

The Pontifical Office what.

The Office of *Pontifex*, or Chief Priest, was to interpret the Divine Law and Prophesies; and did not only prescribe rules for publick Ceremony, but regulated the Sacrifices of private persons, not suffering them in the heat of their devotion to exceed the more solemn Offerings, but directed in every thing with what Sacrifices the Gods

Gods were to be worshipped and appeased. He was also Guardian of the Vestal Virgins, the institution of whom and of their ^{The Institu-} _{tion of the} perpetual Fire, was attributed to *Numa, Vestals.* who perhaps fancied the nature of pure and uncorrupted Flames to be agreeable to chaste and unpolluted Bodies; or that Fire which consumes but produces nothing, alludes best to the sterile condition of Virgins. This Vestal Fire was ordained after the example of that in *Greece*, and particularly at *Delphos* and *Athens*, only with this difference, that here it was conserved by Virgins, but there by Widows, who were past the years and desires of Marriage; and in case by any accident it should happen, that this Fire became extinct, as the holy Lamp was at *Athens*, under the tyranny of *Aristion*; and at *Delphos*, when that Temple was burnt by the *Medes*; and at *Rome*, in the time of the War with *Mithridates*; and of their own civil dissensions, when not only the Fire was extinguished, but the Altar demolish'd: and then afterwards to kindle this Fire again, it was esteemed an impiety to light it from the common sparks or flame, but from the pure and unpolluted Rays of the Sun; the which they performed by an Instrument framed of three equal Angles, which being placed in opposition to the Sun, collects the

the Rays into one centre, and so attenuates the air, that immediately gives fire to any combustible matter from the intense reflexion and reverberation of the Sun-beams. Some are of opinion that these Vestals had no other care or business than the conservation of this Fire ; but others conceive, that they were keepers of those Divine Secrets, which are concealed and hidden to all others but themselves ; of which we have made mention in the life of *Camillus*, so far as the revelations of such mysteries are consistent with due respect to Religion. *Gagania* and *Verenia*, as is reported, were the names of the two first Virgins which were consecrated and ordained by *Numa* : next *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia* succeeded them ; to which *Servius* afterwards added two more, the which number of four hath continued to this our age.

*The Laws
appointed
for the Ve-
stal Vir-
gins.*

The Statutes prescribed by *Numa* for the Vestals were these, That they should vow to keep a Lease of their Virginity, or remain in a chaste or unspotted condition, for the space of thirty years ; the first ten whereof they were like Novitiates, obliged to learn the Ceremonies, and practise themselves in the Rules of their Religion ; then they took the degree of Priestess, and for other ten years exercised the Sacerdotal Function ; and the remaining ten they employed

ployed in teaching and instructing others. Thus the whole term being compleated, it was lawful for them to Marry, and leaving then the sacred Order, they were at liberty to choose such a condition of life as did most indulge, and was grateful to their own humour: But this permission few (as they say) made use of; because it was observed, that their change of life was never accompanied with contentment, being ever after sad and melancholly; for which reason they confined themselves until old Age, and the hour of Death, to the strict and decent rules of a single life.

But this severe condition was recompensed by other privileges and prerogatives; as that they had power to make a Testament in the life-time of their Father; that they had a free administration of their own affairs without Guardian or Tutor, which was the privilege of Women who were the Mothers of three Children: When they went abroad they had the *Fasces* carried before them; and if perchance in their walks abroad it were their fortune to encounter a Malefactor leading to Execution, they had the privilege to free him from Death, upon Oath made, that the occasion was accidental, and not designed, or of set purpose. Whosoever pressed upon the Chair on which they were carried, was guilty of Their Privileges.

of a capital Crime, and immediately punished with Death. If these Vestals committed any faults, they were punishable by the High Priest only, who, as the nature of the offence required, whipped them naked in a dark place, and under the caution of a Veil or Curtain; but she that had been defiled, or permitted her self to be deflowered, was buried alive near the Gate, which is called *Collina*; where a little mount of Earth is raised, called in Latin *Agger*; under it is a narrow Room, to which a descent is made by Stairs: Here they prepare a Bed, and light up a Lamp, and provide a small quantity of Victuals, such as Bread, Water in a Bottle, Milk and Oil; that so that Body, which had been consecrated and devoted to the most divine and mysterious service, might not be said to perish by a death so detestable as that of Famine. The party thus condemned, is carried to Execution through the Market-place in a Litter, wherein she is covered and bound with Cords, so that the voice of her cries and laments cannot be heard; all People with silence go out of the way as she passes, and such as follow, accompany the Bier with solemn and tacite sorrow; and indeed such is the sadness which the City puts on on this occasion, that there is no spectacle of grief which appears of more common and

and general concernment than this. When they come to the place of Execution, the Officers loose the Cords, and then the High Priest, lifting his Hands to Heaven, murmurs some certain Prayers to himself, then the Prisoner, being still covered, is brought forth, and led down by the steps unto her House of darkness ; which being done, the Priests retire, and the Stairs being drawn up, the Earth is pressed and crowded in until the Vault is filled. And this was the punishment of those who broke their Vow of Virginity. It is said also that *Numa* built the Temple of *Vesta*, which was intended for a conservatory of the Holy Fire, in an orbicular form, to represent perhaps the Frame of the Universe, in the centre of which the *Pythagoreans* place the Element of Fire, and give it the name of *Vesta* and Unity : And yet they do not hold that the Earth is immovable, or that it is situated in the middle region of the Globe; but keeps a circular motion about the seat of Fire : Nor do they account the Earth amongst the chief or primary Elements; following the opinion of *Plato*, who, they say, in his mature and Philosophical Age, held that the Earth had a lateral position, for that the middle or centre was reserved for some more noble and refined Body.

There was yet a farther use of the High Priest, and that was to order the Procession at funeral Rites, according to the method prescribed by *Numa*, who taught, that there was no uncleanness in the contact of dead Corpses, but a part of the service owing to the subterranean Gods : Amongst which they worshipped the Goddess *Libitina* as the chief of those who presided over the Ceremonies performed at Burials ; whether they meant hereby *Persephone*, or (as some of the learned *Romans* will have it) *Venus*, for they, not without good reason, attributed the beginning and end of Mans life to the same original Cause and virtue of a Diety.

*The regulation
of Funeral Rites
and Ceremonies.*

Numa also prescribed Rules for regulating the days of Mourning, according to certain times and ages. As for example, a Child of three years, and so upwards to ten, was to be mourned for, for so many months as it was years old ; and the longest time of Mourning for any Person whatsoever was not to exceed the term of ten months : Which also was the time appointed unto Widows to lament the loss of their deceased Husbands : Before which they could not without great indecency pass unto second Marriages ; but in case their incontinence was such as could not admit so long an abstinence from the Marriage-Bed,

Bed, they were then to sacrifice a Cow with Calf for expiation of their fault.

Numa also was Founder of several other Orders of Priests; two of which are worthy to be here mentioned, namely the *Salii* and the *Feciales*, which, with other instances, are clear Proofs of the great devotion and sanctity of this Person. These *Feciales*, whose name in my opinion is derived from their Office, were the Arbitrators to whom all Controversies were referred relating to War and Peace; for it was not allowable to take up Arms until they had declared all hopes and expedients rejected which tended to an accommodation; by the word Peace, we mean a determination of matters in dispute by Law, and not by Violence or Force. The *Romans* commonly dispatched the *Feciales*, who were properly Heralds, to those who had offered them injury, requiring satisfaction; and in case they made not restitution or just returns, they then called the Gods to witness against them and their Country, and so denounced War: the sense of the *Feciales* in this case was of absolute necessity, for without their consent it was neither lawful for the *Roman* King, nor yet for the people to take up Arms; and from them the General took his rules concerning the justice of his cause, which being

Feciales,
an Order of
Priests,
whence so
styled.

Y 2 adjudged,

adjudged, and the War determined; the next business was to deliberate of the manner and ways to manage and carry it on. It is believed, that the slaughter and destruction which the Gauls made of the Romans, was a just judgment on the City for neglect of this religious proceeding: for that when a Foreign Nation besieged the Clusians, *Fabius Ambustus* was dispatched to their Camp with Propositions of Peace; but they returning a rude and peremptory Answer thereunto, *Fabius* imagined that his Treaty was at an end, and that he had fully complied with the duty of his Embassy, and therefore rashly engaging in a War, challenged the stoutest and bravest of the enemy to a single Combat. It was the fortune of *Fabius* to kill his Adversary and to take his spoils, which when the Gauls understood, they sent a Herald to *Rome* to complain against *Fabius*, who, before a War was published, had, against the Law of Nations, made a breach of the Peace. The matter being debated in the Senate, the *Feciales* were of opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be consigned into the hands of the Gauls: but he, being pre-advised of this judgment, fled to the People, by whose protection and favour he was secured: on this occasion, the Gauls marched with their Army to *Rome*, where, having

ving taken the Capitol, they sacked the City. The particulars of all which are at large related in the History of *Camil-lus*.

Now the Original of the *Salii* is this: In the eighth year of the reign of *Numa*, that terrible Pestilence, which was spread over all *Italy*, did likewise miserably infest the City of *Rome*, at which the Citizens being greatly affrighted, and despairing of health, were again comforted by the report of a brazen Target, which (they say) fell from Heaven into the hands of *Numa*, and of which they relate strange effects, operated by the virtue of this miraculous Buckler; and that *Numa* having had conference with the Nymph *Egeria*, and some of the Muses, he was assured, that that Target was sent from Heaven for the cure and safety of the City; and that, because on the conservation thereof the common health and benefit depended, he was ordered by them to make eleven others, so like in all dimensions and form to the original; that in case there should be a design to steal it away, the true might not be distinguished or known from those which were counterfeited; by which means there would be more difficulty to defeat the counsels of Fate, or invert the order of divine Predestination: He farther de-

clared, that he was commanded to consecrate that place and the Fields about it to the Muses, where he had often entertained a free intercourse and communication with them ; and that the Fountain which watered that Field should be made sacred and hallowed for the use of the Vestal Virgins, who were to wash and cleanse the Penetralia of their Sanctuary with those Holy Waters. The truth hereof was speedily verified by a miraculous cessation of the Pestilence ; whereupon *Numa* immediately delivered this Target to the best Artists to have others made in a just likeness in all particulars thereunto ; but none was able to arrive unto a perfect similitude in all undistinguishable respects, until at length one *Veturius Mamurius*, an excellent Master, happily hit upon it, and made one so to represent the other in all respects, that *Numa* himself was at a stand, and could not distinguish the true from that which was counterfeited. The keeping of which Targets was committed to the charge of certain Priests which are called *Salii* ; who did not receive their name, as some imagine, from one *Salius*, a certain Dancing-master, who was born at *Samothrace*, or at *Mantinea*, who taught the way of dancing in Arms ; but rather from that Dance which the *Salii* themselves use, when

*The Institution and
Office of
the Salii.*

in

in the Month of *March* they carry the sacred Targets through the City ; at which Procession they are habited in a short Caffock, girt with a broad Belt clasp'd with brass Buckles ; on their heads they wore a Copper Helmet, and ever and anon sounded on the Targets with short Cemyters : in this manner they proceeded with a nimble motion, and just measures of their Feet, and with such handsome and various turns, as demonstrated great strength and agility of Body. These Targets were called *Ancylia* from the fashion of them ; for they were not made in a round or orbicular form, but oval, and with certain folds or pleats closing one over the other, they fitted the Elbow by their cubical Figure, and thence were called *Ancylia*, from ἄγκυλη, which signified a crooked shape, or from the cubit, which is from the Wrist to the Elbow, and called in Greek ἄγκων, on which they carry these *Ancylia*. Juba, who much affected the Greek Tongue, draws many of his derivations from thence, and would have it from ἀνέγειρεν φοεῖς, which signifies as much as sent from above, or from ἀκέοις, which is cure or medicine of Diseases, or from αὐχμῶν λύσις, which is a deliverance from great driness, or from ἀνάγκεοις, which is an escape from great evils ; whence it is that the *Athenians* called Ca-

stor and Pollux "Avangas; all which may serve to employ the curiosity of those who have a fancy to Greek derivations. All the reward which *Mamurius* received for this his Art, was to be mentioned and commemorated in the Verses which the *Salii* sang, as they danced in their Arms through the City; though some will have it that they did not say *Veturius Mamurius*, but *Vetus Memoria*, which is Ancient Remembrance.

A memorabile instance of Devotion in Numa his building a Palace adjoining to Vesta's Temple.

After *Numa* had in this manner instituted these several Orders of Priests, he erected a Royal Palace near the Temple of *Vesta*, called to this day *Regium*; where he spent the most part of his time, in prescribing Rules for Divine Service, instructing the Priests, and with zeal and devotion attending in Person on the Offices of Religion. He built another House upon the Mount *Quirinalis*; which place they shew to this Day. In all publick Processions and solemn Prayers, Tipstaves or Hushers were sent before to give notice to the People that they should forbear their work, and attend to the Divine Solemnity; for they say that the *Pythagoreans* did not hold it sufficient reverence towards the Gods to worship them in a negligent manner, as when the religious Processions did obviously occur, but obliged their

Scholars

Scholars to go out from their Houses, and with prepared Hearts attend to Divine Supplications : So *Numa* in like manner decreed, that his Citizens should neither see nor hear Divine matters in a perfunctory manner, and with wandring thoughts, but laying aside all distractions of mind, and cares of the World, should apply and elevate their Meditations to Religion ; and the ways and streets should be clear of noise or laments, or other incumbrances which might obstruct or disturb the solemnity and seriousness of Devotion. Something of this Custom remains at *Rome* to this day ; for when the Consul begins to sacrifice or officiate, they call out to the People, *Hoc age, or attend to the work in hand,* and is as much as with us, *Let us Pray,* whereby the Auditors then present were admonished to compose and recollect their thoughts for Prayer : And as *Pythagoras* had certain Precepts and Sayings, such as these : *Thou shalt not make a Peck Measure thy seat to fit on.* *Thou shalt not stir the Fire with a Sword.* *When thou goest forwards, look not behind thee.* *When thou sacrificest to the Celestial Gods, let it be with an odd number, and when to the Terrestrial let it be with even.* So likewise *Numa* delivered other Sentences of an obscure and abstruse meaning ; such as these : *Thou shalt not sacrifice*

to
Indifference
and Distraction
of busi-
ness great
hindrances
to Devotion.

to the Gods an offering of Wine proceeding from a Vine which was never pruned. No Sacrifices shall be performed without Meal. Use a circular motion in adoration of the Gods, and sit down when you have worshipped.

*Probable
conjectures
of the sig-
nificance of
the several
Postures in
Divine
Worship.*

The two first Precepts seem to denote, that urbanity and a natural complaisance with the World is a part of Religion ; and as to the turning which the Worshippers are to use in divine adoration, it is to represent the orbicular motion of the World. But in my opinion, the meaning rather is, that he who comes to worship, enters the Temple with his face towards the East ; where, being come up as high as the Chancel, he turns towards the West, and then back again to the East, perfecting the whole office of his Prayers to that God who is Maker of the Universe ; unless perhaps this change of posture may allude to the *Ægyptian* Wheels, which were Hieroglyphicks of the instability of humane fortune, and that where God should fix and establish our lot and condition, we should there rest contented, and repose our selves with intire resignation to the Divine pleasure. They say also, that the sitting quiet and in a reposed posture after worship did denote a concession, or grant of the petitions they made, and was an assurance of everlasting felicity in the future life ; and that this still and sedentary

dentary cessation from work was the full stop or period of business already performed; from whence now designing to begin others, they were to present themselves before the Gods, to obtain their blessings, and success on that which was to follow. And this form of Ceremony did very well suit with the preceding Doctrine, which taught that Men ought not to approach the Gods in a transitory way, and with distracted minds, but, laying aside all worldly cares and wandring fancies, should then only pray when their thoughts are possessed with Divine Meditation. By such Discipline as this, recommended by the constant practice and example of the Legislatour, the City did so insensibly pass into a religious temper and frame of Devotion, and stood in that awe and reverence of the Vertue of *Numa*, that they received and believed with an undoubted assurance, whatsoever he delivered, though never so fabulous, his authority being sufficient to make the greatest absurdities and impossibilities to pass for matters and points of Faith.

There goes a story, That he once invited a great number of Citizens to an Entertainment, at which the Dishes in which the Meat was served were very homely and plain, and the Commons short, and Several fab-
ulous rela-
tions of
Numa's inti-
mate fa-
miliarity
with the
Gods. the

the Meat ill dressed : the Guests being sate, he began to tell them, that the Goddess which was his familiar Spirit, and always conversant with him, was then at that time present, when on a sudden the Room was furnished with all sorts of precious Pots and Dishes, and the mean Fare converted into a most magnificent Feast, adorned with all sorts of the most delicious Viands. But the Dialogue which is reported to have passed between him and *Jupiter*, surpasses all the fabulous Legends that were ever invented. They say, that before Mount *Aventine* was inhabited or inclosed within the Walls of the City, that two Demi-gods, which were *Picus* and *Fannus*, did usually frequent the Fountains and close shades of that place ; which some will have to be two Satyrs of the *Titonian* Race ; who being expert in the faculty of Physick, and dexterous in legerdemain and magical Spells, like the *Dactyli* of Mount *Ida*, made a Journey through all the parts of *Italy*. *Numa* contriving one day to surprize these Demi-gods, mingled the Waters of the Fountain, of which they did usually drink, with Wine and Honey, which so pleased these liquorish Deities, that he easily ensnared and took them ; but then they changed themselves into many various forms and shapes, intending, under

der horrid and unknown transmutations, to make their escape: but, finding themselves entrapped in inextricable toils, and in no possibility to get free, revealed unto him many secrets and future events; and particularly a charm against Thunder and Lightning, which they composed of Onions and Hair, and the Bones of a Fish: but some deny, and say, that these Demi-gods did not discover the secret of this Charm to *Numa*; but that they, by the force of their Magick Art and Spells, had constrained *Jove* himself to descend from Heaven to satisfie the demands of *Numa*, and that he then, in an angry manner answering his enquiries, told him, that if he would charm the Thunder and Lightning, he must do it with Heads: How, said *Numa*, with the Heads of Onions? No, reply'd *Jupiter*, of Men. But *Numa*, willing to divert the cruelty of this Receipt, turned it another way, saying, Your meaning is, the Hairs of Mens Heads; No, reply'd *Jupiter*, of living Men: then *Numa*, being instructed by the Goddess *Egeria*, seemed to mistake, and say, How! with the Bones of the Fish *Mæna*? which, being the three ingredients that compose the Charm, so operated on *Jupiter*, that he returned again to Heaven pacified and well pleased. This place was ever afterwards called *Elicium*, or *Ilicium*, from

from the Greek word *iλεως*, which signifies propitious or merciful ; and in this manner this Magick Spell was effected.

The people of Rome generally inclin'd to superstition in Numa's reign. Such was the superstitious humour of that Age, which the example of the Prince had wrought in the minds of the Vulgar, that nothing was so absurd and ridiculous in Religion which gain'd not belief ; and *Numa* himself was said to have been possessed with such a confidence and fiducial trust in the Gods, that when it was told him, that the Enemy was near at hand, he smilingly answered, *That he feared them not, let them come at their peril, for he was then sacrificing to the Gods.* It was he also that built the Temples of *Faith*, and *Terminus* ; and taught the *Romans* such respect to *Faith*, that it was the greatest Oath, and the most obligatory that they could swear ; and to the God *Terminus* they offer unto this day the Blood of Beasts, both in publick and private Sacrifices, upon the borders and Stone marks of their Land : though anciently those Sacrifices were solemnized without Blood, it being the Precept and Doctrine of *Numa* to offer nothing to the God *Terminus*, but what was pure and free of bloody cruelty ; for that he, whose incumbence it was to fix boundaries, was thereby constituted an Arbiter of Peace and Justice, punishing those who removed

removed their Neighbours Land-mark, or invaded his right. It is very clear, that it was this King who first prescribed bounds to the Jurisdiction of *Rome*; for *Romulus* would have betrayed his own cause, and plainly discovered how much he had encroached on his Neighbours Lands, had he ever set limits to his own; which as they are fences and curbs against arbitrary invasions, to those who observe them, so they serve for evidences to arise in judgment against those, who break over and violate the borders with which they are circumscribed. The truth is, the portion of Lands which the *Romans* possessed at the beginning, was very narrow, until *Romulus* by War enlarged them; and which *Numa* afterwards divided amongst the indigent Commonalty, that he might ward them against violent necessity, which always puts Men upon injurious designs and shifts, and that by placing them in Farms, ^{*Numa a friend and*} he might accustom them to a desire of property, and a regular way of living; for as ^{*an advance*} ^{*of Husbandry.*} there is nothing that so reconciles the Minds of Men to Peace, as Husbandry and a Country life, so it makes them abhor all violence, and gives them courage and resolution to defend their sowed Lands and Pastures from the encroachment of their Neighbours. Wherefore *Numa*, that he might

might take and amuse the Hearts of his Citizens with Agriculture or Husbandry, which is an employment that rather begets civility and a peaceable temper than great opulence and riches, he divided all the Lands into several parcels, to which he gave the name of *Pagus* or Borough, and over every one of them he ordained a Chief or Arbitrator in judicial causes; and taking a delight sometimes to survey his Colonies in Person, he made judgment of every Man's inclinations and manners, by his industry, and the improvements he had made, of which being witness himself, he preferred those to honours and authority who had merited most; and on the contrary reproached the sluggishness of such, who had given themselves over to a careless and a negligent life. But above all, which was a principal point of his Politicks,

*He first divided the
Citizens in-
to distin&
Companies.*

he divided the People into several Companies: For as the City did consist, or rather was distinguished (as we have said) by two sorts of Tribes, from whence dangerous Factions, Tumults and Seditions did arise; he contrived to cast them into divers small Moulds and Models: For as hard and dissenting Bodies are not easily incorporated, so long as they remain in their gross bulk, but being beaten into a powder, or melted into small Atoms, are often cemented

mented and consolidated into one; so this People, being separated and distinguished into small divisions, were afterwards with less difficulty united into one body: Wherefore distinguishing the whole City by their several Arts and Professions, he formed the Companies of Musicians, Goldsmiths, Masons, Dyers, Taylors, Skinners, Brasiers, and Potters; and all other Handy-crafts Men he composed and reduced into a single Company appointing unto every one their respective Halls, Courts and other Privileges belonging to their Societies, which they held by the Charters received from this Prince. In this manner all factious distinctions began to cease in the City; there being no Person farther esteemed under the notion of a *Sabine*, a *Roman*, or a *Tatian*, but all were comprehended under the general denomination of a Citizen of *Romulus*; whereby all other terms growing out of use and fashion, the national animosities reconciled of themselves, and all dissolved into the common tye and relation of a *Roman* Citizen.

He is also much to be commended for the repeal, or rather amendment of that Law, which gives power to Fathers to sell their Children; for he exempted such as were Married from that subjection, conditionally that they had match'd themselves

with the liking and consent of their Parents : for it seemed a very hard and unjust thing, that a Woman, who had given her self in Marriage to a Man whom she judged free, should afterwards find her self betrayed and cast away upon a Husband that was a Servant.

The regulation of the year instituted by Numa.

He attempted also to draw a Scheme of the Heavens, and thereunto conform a Calendar and Ephemerides of the Year, which though it was not perfect, yet it was not altogether without some learned Conjectures, and such as reduced the account of the Year to some tolerable regulation : For during the reign of *Romulus*, their Months had no certain or equal term ; for some of them contained 20 Days, others 35, others more ; the which error proceeded from want of a true knowledge of the different motions of the Sun and Moon ; only they kept to this account, that the whole course of the Year contained 360 Days. *Numa* also farther observing, that there was eleven Days difference between the Lunary and the Solary Year : For that the Moon compleated her Anniversary course in 354 Days, and the Sun in 365 ; to remedy which inequality, he doubled the eleven Days, and after every two Year added an interstitial to follow the Month of *February*, which the *Romans* called the Month of *Mercidinus* ; but this account hath since
hat

that time received a better amendment. He also altered the order of the Months; for *March*, which was reckoned the first; he put into the third place; and *January*, which was the eleventh, he made the first; and *February*, which was the twelfth and last to be the second. Some will have it, that it was *Numa* also which added the two Months of *January* and *February*: for in the beginning, when men were ignorant and barbarous, they composed a Year of ten Months: the *Arcadians* in *Greece* had only four, in *Arcania* they accounted by six: and the *Ægyptians* had at first but one Month, which afterwards they divided into four, according to the seasons of the Year: which Country of *Ægypt*, though it seem new to us, is yet inhabited by an ancient People; for if we may believe their *Chronicles* (unless they account Months for Years) their Genealogies are deduced from great antiquity. And that the *Romans* at first comprehended the whole Year within ten, and not twelve Months, plainly appears by the name of *December*, which signifies the tenth Month, and is the last in order: and that *March* was the first is likewise evident, for that the fifth Month after it was called *Quintilis*, and the sixth *Sextilis*, and so the rest; so that if *January* and *Febrary* had in this account

*Various,
aburd and
unskillful
computations of the
year.*

preceded *March*. *Quintilis* had been put in the seventh place, and so called *September*. It is also very probable, that this first Month was dedicated by *Romulus* to *Mars*; the second to *Venus*, called *April*, from the Greek word *Aphrodites*; which the Women solemnize in honour of that Goddess, adorning their heads on the Kalends, or first days of it, with Myrtle Garlands. But others will not allow of the derivation of this word from *Aphrodites*, but rather deduce it from the word *Aperio*, which in Latin signifies, to open, because that this Month is in the high Spring, when all Buds and Flowers open and disclose themselves: The next is called *May*, from *Maia* the Mother of *Mercury*, to whom this Month was made sacred: then *June* follows, so called from *Juventus*, or youthfulness of the Year, which is then warm, and gay, and in its juvenile season. To the other Months also they gave denominations according to their order, so the fifth was called *Quintilis*, *Sextilis* the sixth, and so the rest *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*: Afterwards *Cæsar*, when he had overcome *Pompey*, changed the name of the Month *Quintilis* to that of *Julius*, which we call *July*; as also that of *Sextilis* was changed into *Augustus*, which was a surname to the Successor of *Cæsar*.

Domitian

Domitian also in imitation hereof gave the two other following Months the Names of *Garmanicus* and *Domitianus*, but, he being slain, they recovered their ancient denominations of *September* and *October*; but the two last have ever reserved their names without any alteration. The Months which were added, and transposed in their order by *Numa* was *February*, which deduces its name from *Febru*, signifying a purification by Sacrifice; for when they offered Plants, and celebrated the Feast of *Lupercalia*, in which many Ceremonies agree with the Solemnities used at the Lustrations or cleansing days: but *January* was so called from *Janus*, and a precedence of order given to it by *Numa* before *March*, which was dedicated to the God *Mars*; intimating in my opinion thereby, that the Arts and civil studies of Peace are to be preferred before warlike or martial employments. For this *Janus*, whether he were a Dæmon, or Demi-god, or a King, was certainly a great Politician and lover of Arts and Sciences, whereby he transformed the incult natures of Men into a gentle and civil disposition; for which reason they figure him with two Faces, beholding at the same time both states and constitutions of humane kind. His Temple at *Rome* hath two Gates, which they call the Gates of

Mars; because they stand open in the time of War, and shut in the times of Peace, of which latter there was very seldom an example; for when the *Roman Empire* was enlarged and extended to its utmost bounds, it was so encompassed with barbarous Nations and Enemies, that it was seldom or never at Peace: Only in the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, after he had overcome *Anthony*, that Temple was shut: As likewise not many years before, when *Marcus Atilius* and *Titus Manlius* were Consuls; but then it continued not so

The Gates of Janus were again opened: But during the Reign of *Numa*, which continued for the space of forty three years, those Gates were ever shut, their being a profound quiet without the noise or clattering of Arms:

For not only the People of Rome were animated with a spirit of peace, which they enjoyed under the just proceedings of a pacifick Prince; but even the neighbouring Cities, as if they had been inspired with the same inclinations, breathed nothing but a salubrious and gentle air of mutual friendship, and amicable correspondence; and being ravished with the delights which Justice and Peace produce, every one apply'd himself to the management of his Lands and Farm, to the

Happy results of Peace.

the education of his Children, and worship of the Gods: Festival Days, and Sports, and Banquets were the common diversions; and Families entertained and treated their acquaintance and friends in such a free and open manner, that all *Italy* securely conversed with each other without fear or jealousies, or designs, being all possessed with that Divine Spirit of Love and Charity, which flowed from *Numa* as from a Fountain of Wisdom and Equity: So that the Hyperbolies, which the Poets of those Days used, and the flights which are allowable in Verse, were flat, and not able to reach with their highest expressions the happiness of those days;

*When Spears, and Swords, and direful
Arms of War
Were laid aside, and rustied in their
places;
No Trumpet sounds alarm'd the publick
peace;
But all securely slept ——————*

For during the whole Reign of *Numa*, there was neither War, nor Sedition, nor Plots designed against the State, nor did any Faction prevail, or the ambition and emulation of great Men attempt upon the

Government: For indeed Men so reverenced his Vertue, and stood in such awe of his Person, which, they believed, was guarded by a particular care of Divine Providence, that they despaired of all success in their sinister intentions: And then that happy Fortune, which always attends the life of Men who are pure and innocent, bestowed a general esteem and good reputation on him; and verified that saying of *Plato*, which some Ages after he delivered in relation to the happiness of a well formed Common-wealth: For, saith he, when the Royal Power, by Gods Grace, meets with a mind and spirit addicted to Philosophy, there Vice is subdued and made inferiour to Vertue: No Man is really blessed but he that is wise; and happy are his Auditors, who can hear and receive those words which flow from his mouth: There is no need of compulsion or menaces to subject the multitude, for

A virtuous example must conſpi- curus and enri- cing in a Prince. that lustre of vertue which shines bright in the good example of a Governour, invites and inclines them to wisdom, and insensibly leads them to an innocent and happy life, which being conducted by friendship and concord, and supported on each side with temperance and justice, is of long and lasting continuance; and worthy is that Prince of all rule and dominion, who makes

makes it his business to lead his Subjects into such a state of felicity. This was the care of *Numa*, and to this end did all his actions tend.

As to his Children and Wives, there is a diversity of reports by several Authors: some will have it that he never had any other Wife than *Tatia*, nor more Children than one Daughter called *Pompilia*: Others will have it that he left four Sons, namely *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus* and *Mamercus*, every one of which had issue, and from them descended the noble and illustrious Families of *Pomponi*, *Pinari*, *Calpurni* and *Mamerci*, to which for distinction sake was added the surname of Royal. But there is a third sort of Writers, which say that these Pedigrees are but a piece of flattery used by the Helalds, who, to incur favour with these great Families, deduced their Genealogies from this ancient Lineage; and that *Pompilia* was not the Daughter of *Tatia*, but born of *Lucretia*, to whom he was Married after he came to his Kingdom: Howsoever all of them agree in Opinion, that she was Married to the Son of that *Martius* who perswaded him to accept the Government, and accompanied him to Rome, where, as a signal of honour, he was chosen into the Senate; and after the Death of *Numa*, standing in competition with

with *Tullus Hostilius* for the Kingdom, and being disappointed of the Election, in high discontent killed himself: Howsoever his Son *Martius*, who had married *Pompilia*, residing at *Rome*, was the Father of *Ancus Martius*, who succeeded *Tullus Hostilius* in the Kingdom, and was but five years of age when *Numa* died.

Numa's Death and honourable Interment. *Numa* lived something above eighty years, and then (as *Piso* writes) was not taken out of the world by a sudden or acute Disease, but by a chonical Distemper, by which he lingred long, and at last expired. At his Funerals all the Glories of his Life were consummate; for the kind People, and his friendly Companions, met to honour and grace the Rites of his Interment with Garlands and contributions from the publick: the Senatours carried the Bier on which his Corps was laid, and the Priests followed and accompanied the solemn Procession; the remainder of this doleful pomp was composed of Women and Children, who lamented with such tears and sighs, as if they had bewailed the death or loss of a dearest relation taken away in the flower of his age, and not of an old and out-worn King. It is said that his body, by his particular command, was not burnt, but that he ordered two stone Coffins to be made, in one of which he appointed

pointed his Body to be laid, and the other to be a Repository for his sacred Books and Writings, and both of them to be buried under the Hill *Janiculum*; thereby imitating the Legislators of *Greece*, who, having wrote their Laws in Tables, which they called *Cirbas*, did so long inculcate the contents of them, whilst they lived, into the minds and hearts of their Priests, till their understandings became living Libraries of those sacred Volumes; it being esteemed a profanation of such mysteries to commit their secrets unto dead Letters. For this very reason, they say, the *Pythagoreans* forbade that their Precepts or Conclusions should be committed to Paper, but rather conserved in the living Memories of those who were worthy to receive their Doctrines; and if perchance any of their abstruse notions or perplexed cares, such as were their positions in Geometry, were made known, or revealed to an impure Person, unworthy to receive such mysteries, they presently imagined that the Gods threatened punishment for such profanation; which was not to be expiated but by Sword and Pestilence, or other judgments of the Gods. Wherefore having these several instances concurring to render the Lives of *Numa* and *Pythagoras* agreeable, we may easily pardon those who

To commit
to writing
Divine
Precepts
held a pro-
fanation by
the Greci-
an Law-
givers.

who make a comparison between their temperament of Soul and Manners of living, believing that there was an intimate familiarity and conversation between them.

Valerius Antias writes that the Books which were buried in the aforesaid Chests or Coffins of Stone were twelve Volumes of holy Writ, and twelve others in Greek containing the Wisdom and Philosophy of the *Grecians*: and that about four hundred years afterwards, when *P. Cornelius* and *M. Bebius* were Consuls, there happening a great inundation of Water, which with a violent Torrent carrying away the Chests of Stone, overturned them and displaced their Covers, so that being opened, one of them appeared empty without the Skeleton or Reliques of any humane Body; in the other were the Books before-mentioned, still remaining entire, and not much worn out with time: which when the Pretor *Petilius* had read and perused, he made Oath in the Senate, that in his Opinion, it was not fit for those Books to be divulged, or made publick to the People; whereupon the Edition of them was suppressed, and all the Volumes by command carried to the Market-place, and there burnt.

Such

Such is the fortune of good Men, that their Vertue survives their Bodies, and that the envy and emulation which evil Men conceive against them is soon extinguished; but their reputation and glory is immortal, and shines with more splendor after their death, than in the time when they were living and conversant in the World: and as to *Numa*, the actions of the succeeding Kings served as so many Foils to set off the brightness of his majeckick Vertues: for after him there were five Kings, the last of which was made an exile, being deposed from his Crown: Of the other four, three were by Treason assasinated and murthered; the other, who was *Tullus Hostillius*, that immediately succeeded *Numa*, whilst he derided his vertues, and especially his devotion and religious worship, reproached his memory, as a cowardly and mean spirited Prince; and, diverting the minds of the People from their peaceable and honest course of life, to wars and de predations, was himself surprized by an acute and tormenting Disease; which caused him to change his mind and call upon *Even A-*
the Gods; but it was accompanied with *theists in*
such superstition and vain imaginations, *time of ad-*
as was much differing from the true Pie-*plore the*
ty and Religion of *Numa*: and, because *Deity.*
he infected others with the contagion of
his

his Errors, the Gods, as is said, were angry, and revenged their own dishonour by a Thunder-bolt which struck him dead.

THE
COMPARISON
OF.
NUMA with *LYCOURGUS*.

HAVING thus finished the Lives of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*; we shall now (though the work be difficult) compare their actions in that manner together, so as easily to discern wherein they differed, and wherein they agreed. It is apparent that they were very agreeable in the actions of their Lives, their Moderation, their Religion, their civil Arts and political Government were alike; and both insinuated a belief in the People, that they derived their Laws and Constitutions from the Gods: yet in their peculiar manner of managing these Excellencies, there were many Circumstances which made a diversity:

sity : For first, *Numa* accepted the King-
dom being offered, but *Lycurgus* resigned it ; the one from a private Person and a stranger was created King, the other from the condition and publick Character of a Prince descended to the state of a private Person. It was glorious to possess a Throne in Righteousness and Judgment ; and great bravery on the other side to prefer Justice before a Kingdom : The same virtue which made the one appear worthy of Regal power, exalted the other to a degree of so much Eminence, that it seemed a condescension in him to stoop unto a Crown : Lastly, as Musicians tune their Harps according to their Note ; so the one let down the high flown spirits of the People at *Rome* to a lower Key, as the other screwed them up at *Sparta* to a higher Note, which were fallen flat by dissoluteness and riot. For it was not so much the business and care of *Lycurgus* to reason his Citizens into peace, or to persuade them to put off their Armour, or ungird their Swords ; as it was to moderate their Love to Gold or Silver, or the profulenes of their Tables, or to abate their extravagancies in rich Clothes and Furniture : Nor was it necessary to preach unto them, that, laying aside their Arms, they should observe the Festivals, and sacrifice

*The differ-
ent qual-
ties of Ly-
curgus and
Numa.*

crifice to the Gods ; but rather, that, moderating the affluence of their Tables and excess of diet, they should become temperate and abstemious, and employ their time in laborious and martial Exercises : So that the one moulded his Citizens into what humour he pleased, by a gentle and soft way of argument ; the other with danger and hazard of his Person, scarce worked upon the affections of a dissolute People. It is certain, that *Numa* was naturally endued with a more gentle and obliging way, which mollified the harsh disposition of his People, and made them tractable and lovers of justice : But *Lycurgus* was more rigid, and (since we must mention it) we cannot excuse his severity against the *Ilotes*, or term it other than a cruel action ; and in the sum of all conclude, that *Numa* was far the more moderate and plausible Legislatour ; granting even to Servants a Licence to sit at Meat with their Masters at the Feast of *Saturn*, that so they also might have some taste and relish of the sweetness of liberty, Some will have it that this Custom was introduced by *Numa* on this just reason, that because the Servants were instrumental in cultivating the Grounds and gathering the Fruits which the Earth produced, there should be a time appointed when they might enjoy the

Numa's indulgence to slaves variously interpreted.

the fruits of their labours, in a more free and delightful manner: Others will have it to be in remembrance of that Age of *Saturn*, when there was no distinction between the Lord and the Servant; but all lived as Kindred and Relations in a parity and condition of Equality. In short, it seems that both aimed at the same design and intent, which was to compose and incline their People, to modesty and frugality; but as to their other Virtues, the one availed himself most on Fortitude, and the other on Justice: Unless we will attribute their different ways to the different temperaments of their People; for *Numa* did not out of cowardise or fear affect Peace, but because he would not be guilty of those injuries which are the necessary consequences of War: Nor did *Lycurgus*, out of a principle of violence and fury, promote and excite a spirit of War in his People, but rather encouraged the art of War, and inclined their minds, which were soft and enervated by Luxury, to martial Exercises; that so they might be the better prepared to repel injuries, and resist the invasions of their Enemies. In this manner both having occasion to operate on their Citizens, and make a change and alteration in their humours and manners, the one cut off the superfluities and excesses, whilst

the other supplied the defects of that which was wanting.

The frame of *Numa's Politicks* did most suit with the constitution of a Commonwealth, and more respected the humour of a popular Government ; for having ranged his People into several Companies, such as Goldsmiths, Musicians, Shoe-makers,
Numa studious of Trade, Lycurgus of martial Discipline. and other Handicraft Trades, he cherished them and gave them Privileges by their Charters : But the Government of *Lycurgus* was more Aristocratical, conferring the greatest Authority on the Nobility, and leaving the profession of mechanical Arts and Trades, to be the employment only of Strangers, and of the low and baser Commonalty. The Citizens he allowed only to manage the Spear and Buckler ; Because that being the Ministers and Servants of *Mars*, they had no great need of knowledge or literature more than to observe the words of command, and obey their Leaders, intending by their discipline of War to enable them to defend themselves and offend their Enemy : For to Men that were really made Free and become Gentlemen, all trade and traffick was forbidden ; and the gainful and pecuniary Arts, and the care of Provisions and preparing Suppers and Banquets, made the business only of Servants, or of the *Ilotes*.

But

But *Numa* made none of these distinctions, only he took care that men grew not rich by Spoils or Prizes taken in the War, all other profits and acquisitions being allowable by the Law, and not dishonourable in the esteem of the World: nor did he endeavour to level Mens Estates, or reduce them to an equality, but gave every Man a liberty to amass Wealth, and grow as rich as he was able; but took no care to provide against poverty, which by the additions of poor people, which flocked to the City, increased daily. In the beginning of all, he ought to have suppressed or discountenanced covetousness, whilst there was no great disparity in the estates of men, and whilst the balance was equal; and, after the example of *Lycurgus*, have obviated those many and great mischiefs which proceeded from avarice, as the fountain and original of them all: and yet *Lycurgus* is not to be blamed for establishing the *Agrarian Law*, which was a dividing of Lands amongst the People, nor was *Numa* to be reproved for not admitting such Law or Custom in his jurisdiction: because equality was the Basis and foundation of his Commonwealth, but the case of *Numa* was far different; for the division of Lands having been formerly admitted and made, the taking them away or altering mens Properties

parties in them, could not have been performed without the troubles and dangers which follow such innovations.

Now as to Marriages, and the regular way of increasing the World, they both agreed on such political Constitutions as should clear the mind of Husbands from all terrors in torment of jealousie, and yet their *Marriage*, ^{chiefly de-} *Laws* herein were diversly qualified. For when a *Roman* thought himself to have a sufficient provision of Children, in case his Neighbour who had none, should come and desire him to accommodate him with his Wife, that he also might have the benefit of Issue from his fruitful Woman; he had a Lawful Power to lend her to him who desired her, either for a certain time, or else to loose the bonds of Marriage, and consign her into the hands of her Paramour for ever. But the *Lacanian* had another rule, for it was allowable for him to afford the use of his Wife to any other that desired to have Children by her, and yet still to keep her in his House, and retain the bond and conditions of Marriage in the same force and vertue as before: nay many Husbands (as we have said) would often invite men of handsome Features and comely Bodies to their Houses, in hopes of Children of the like shapes and beauty, which they adopted and acknowledged

knowledged for their own. What difference was there then between these several Customs; unless it be this, That the free use which the *Laconians* indulged of their Women, was a remedy against the humour of jealousie, which often affects Men with such torment of mind, that their days consume in sorrow and disquiet: the other of the *Romans* conserved some respect for the modesty of Women, and the sacredness of Marriage, not enduring a community of Wives in the same House, nor a transferring of the right of them to another, unless the matrimonial Knot were first dissolved. Moreover the Constitutions of *Numa* as to Virgins were more severe, prescribing rules to keep them modest, and free from all suspicions of unchastity: but the Orders of *Lycurgus* were in that point more dissolute, giving more liberty to Maids and single Women; which afforded to the Poets subject for their raillery, as *Ibycus* who gave them the Epithet of φαυομεῖδας, or Wenches that held up their Petticoats as far as their Thighs, and ἀνδερηγάτες, or rampant Girls, that run mad for a Man, so *Euripides* faith,

*Where wanton Girls with roring Boys,
Fill all their Fathers House with noise;*

*Clothes loosely flowing with a slit between,
For what we hide, they would have seen.*

For the Habit which Maidens wore came but to their Knees, and was open on both sides, so that as they walked their Thighs appeared bare; according to these Verses of *Sophocles*,

*Hermione tuck'd up her Smock on high,
Not being ashame'd to shew her brawny Thigh.*

*An undecent practice of the
Women of Laconia.*

This manner of Habit gave the Women such confidence, that they hen-peck'd their Husbands; and not only bore the greatest sway at home, but also had the privilege of Votes in publick Assemblies: but the Matrons under the Government of *Numa* were ruled with better decorum; for though the Husbands were very indulgent to their *Sabine* Wives, endeavouring to compensate for their Rape, in the Reign of *Romulus*, by extraordinary kindness, howsoever their liberty was restrained within some terms of modesty, which taught them sobriety and silence, and to abstain from Wine and freedom of discourse, and long visits, unless in company or presence of their Husbands: So that when at a certain time a Woman had the confidence to plead her own cause at the Bar

Bar in a place of Judicature, it seemed so strange and monstrous a thing, that the Senate sent to enquire of the Oracle, what such a prodigy in nature did portend : and indeed the vertue of modest Women is best illustrated by comparing them with the mischievous examples of those that were lewd and impudent : For as the Greek Historians record in their Annals the names of those who first unsheathed the Sword of Civil War, or murthered their Brothers, or were Parricides and killed their Fathers ; so the *Roman* Writers report, that *Spurius Carvilius* was the first who divorced his Wife ; being a case that never before happened in the space of 230 years from the Foundation of the City ; and that one *Ibalea*, the Wife of *Pinarius*, was the first that had any quarrel or debate with her Mother-in Law, *Gegania*, in the Reign of *Tarquinius Superbus* : so excellent were the Laws and Constitutions of the conjugal Rites of that City, that such peccadillo's as these were reckoned for flagitious Crimes, and the least failures in them at first were reputed infamous, and fit to be branded and marked with shame in the History of those times. Now the Laws which *Lycurgus* ordained, either in relation to Virgins or married Women, were different : for he esteeming procreation

*Divorce not
in use a-
mongst the
ancient
Romans.*

tion of Children to be the principal end of Marriage, would fix no set term of Age, when Men or Women should be esteemed capable of giving their consents to each other in Marriage ; for he thought that Nature being the principal guide in that matter, should not be restrained with violence, which produces hatred and fear ; but rather being gently indulged, when youth, and love, and kindness move ; the coition might be more satisfactory, and consequently the Children become more robust, strong and healthful.

But the *Romans* designing in the first place to deliver the Bodies of their Daughters pure and undefiled into the embraces and possession of the Husband, made it lawful for Fathers to Marry their Daughters at twelve years of age, or under : Which first way of *Lycurgus* seems more agreeable to the desires of Nature, which only respects the procreation of Children ; but the other is better adapted to make a conjugal life comfortable, and calculated for the rules of moral living. Howsoever those general rules which *Lycurgus* prescribed for Education of Children, for their meetings together and visits, as also those regulations he made in their Feasts, or Compotations, Exercises and Sports, do argue, that *Numa* was in some manner inferior

ferior to him in the art and mystery of giving Laws : For as to education, *Lycurgus* was of opinion, That Parents were rather obliged to follow the inclinations and genius of their Children, than to adhere to any fixt or formal Rule of Discipline : As for example, if a Father designing to make his Son a Husbandman, or a Carpenter, a Brasier, or a Musician; will he not first consult his genius or inclinations, before he oblige him to a Profession whereunto he hath no delight, and for which he hath no Talent or capacity? For as Passengers who embark together on the same Ship, though they have diverse designs, and apply themselves to different interests, yet when Storms arise, whereby the whole Cargason is endangered, they forsake the thoughts of their private concerns, that they may unite their hands and heads for the common conservation ; in like manner, the Legislators or Law-makers, whose business is the publick good, are not required to give or prescribe standing rules for every particular Action or private Affair, but such only as respect the common use and benefit.

And since we may blame the common sort of Legislators, who, either for want of power or knowledge, take false measures in the Maxims they lay down for fundamental

*The pru-
dent me-
thods of
Lycur-
gus's Con-
stitutions.*

damental Laws : How much rather may we except against the conduct of *Numa*, who for the reputation of his Wisdom only being called and invited by the general consent of a new and unsettled People to be their King, did not in the first place provide and constitute Rules for the Education of Children and the Discipline of Youth ; for want of which Men become seditious and turbulent, and live not quiet in their Families or Parishes ; but when they are inured from their Cradles to good Principles, and instructed from their Infancy in the Rules of Morality, they receive such impressions of Virtue as make them sensible of that benefit and ease which peace and mutual agreement brings to a Commonwealth. This with many others, was one of the Politicks of *Lycurgus*, and was of great use in the confirmation and establishment of his Laws. An instance we have in the practice of Swearing and making Oaths a part of Religion, which had proved very insignificant, unless that by good discipline a principle had been at first instilled of the sacredness of such a Function ; and this was the cause that the *Lacedæmonians*, having sucked in these Principles with their Milk, were possessed with a most reverend esteem of all his Institutions ; so that the main points and fundamentals

*An Oath
held sacred
by the La-
cedæmo-
nians.*

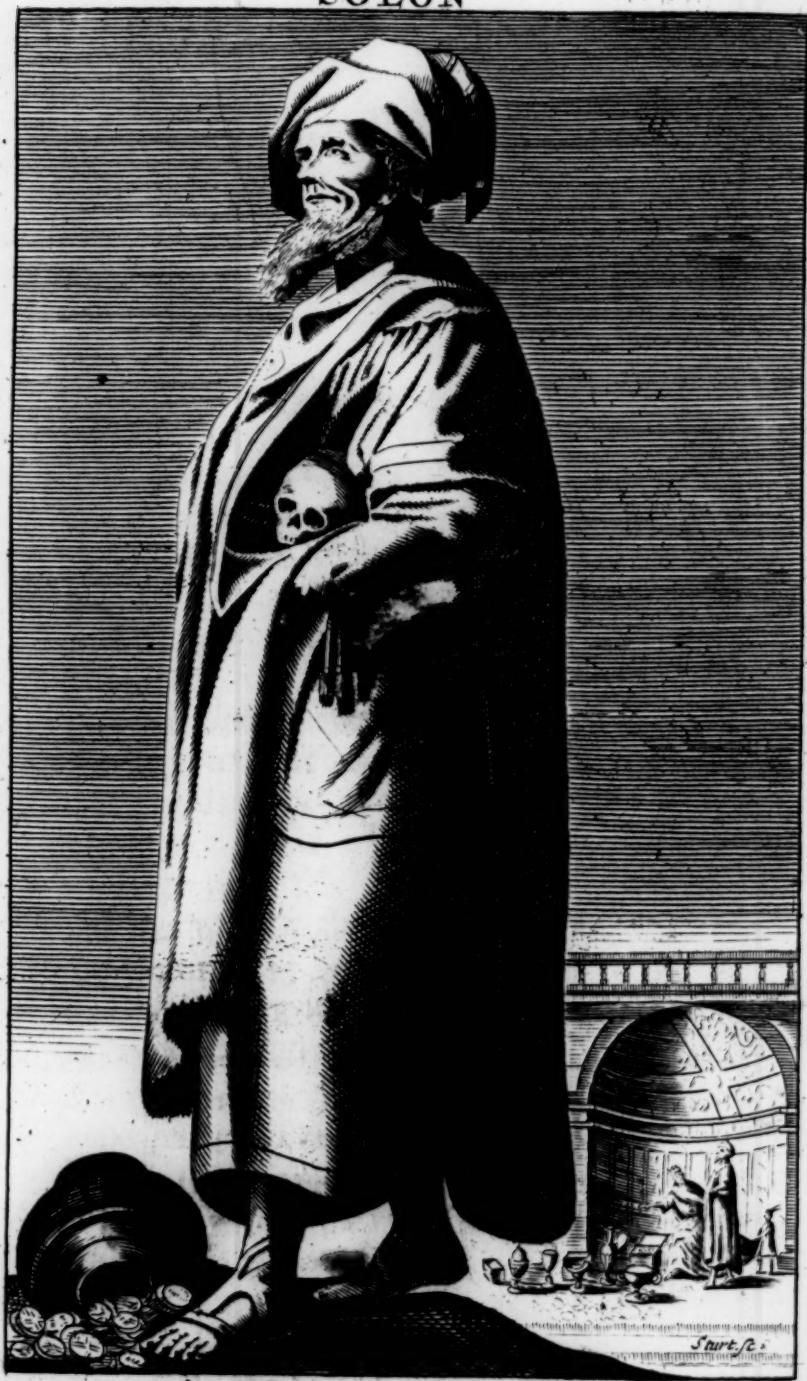
mentals of his Law, continued for above 500 years in force with strict observance, and without any violation. But *Numa*, whose whole design and aim was peace, and to conserve his People in such a sense of Religion and Divine worship as might conduce to the present tranquility, did never make provisions for a future condition, or for the time of War: and therefore no sooner did he expire his last breath, than Peace vanished with it, and immediately after his decease the Gates of *Janus* Temple flew wide open; and as if War had been long pent up within those Walls, it rush'd forth like a mighty Storm infesting all *Italy* with blood and slaughter: and thus that excellent Fabrick, and composition of Equity and Justice was dissolved, for want of early Principles, instilled by ^{Remissness} in bringing good education into youth, which are the ^{up of youth} foundation to support it, and the necessary cement which unites all together, in a ^{prejudicial} ^{to the Ro-} fixed and immutable habit. What then ^{man State.} (may some say) hath *Rome* been prejudiced by her Wars? I answer, that this Question, which Men make, who take their measures from the advance of Riches and Power exalted with Luxury, rather than from that Innocence and moderation of Mind, which is always accompanied with tranquility and peace, is not to be resolved

ved by a sudden answer, but by a long and philosophical discourse. Howsoever it makes much for *Lycurgus*, that so soon as the *Romans* deserted the Doctrine and Discipline of *Numa*, their Empire grew and their Power encreased : when as on the contrary, so soon as the *Lacedæmonians* fell from the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, the Fabrick of their Government dissolved with their Laws, and, the *Græcian* Empire being lost, they also were reduced to the utmost point of desolation and ruine. And yet there is something peculiarly signal and almost Divine in the circumstances of *Numa*, for he was an Alien, and yet courted against his own inclinations to accept a Kingdom ; the frame of which though he entirely altered, yet he performed it without force or coaction, and with such lenity, that nothing was acted but with the assent and concurrence of the people. *Lycurgus* on the other side favoured the Nobility, and made them the Lords and Rulers over the Commons ; and yet that Government was well tempered also, and duly poised by Wisdom and Justice.

THE



SOLON



Ω' Σόλον, Ω' Σόλον.

THE
L I F E
O F
S O L O N.

Translated from the Greek,
By Thomas Creech, of Wad. Coll. Oxon.

Diodimus the Grammairian, in his answer to *Asclepiades* concerning Solon's Tables, mentions a passage of one *Philocles*, who delivers that Solon's Father's name was *Euphorion*, contrary to the opinion of all those who have written concerning him: for they generally agree that he was the Son of *Exestides*, a man of moderate wealth and power in the City; but of Solon of a noble Family.

of a noble Stock, being descended from *Codrus*: his Mother, as *Heraclides Ponticus* affirms, was Cousin to *Pisistratus* his Mother, and those two at first were great Friends, partly because they were akin, and partly because *Pisistratus* was a handsome graceful Man, and they say *Solon* lov'd him: and that is the reason, I suppose, that when afterwards they differ'd about the Government, their enmity never produc'd any hot and violent passion, they remembred their old kindnesses, and that kept the flame of their love and dear affection still alive: For that *Solon* was Amorous, and unable stoutly to resist the force of Beauty, we may conjecture by his Poems; and by a Law he forbid Slaves to perfume themselves, or love Boys, making that an honourable action, and only fit for Gentlemen, and as it were inviting the Worthy to the practice, when he commanded the Unworthy to forbear. *Pisistratus* likewise is reported to have lov'd one *Charmus*, and to have consecrated his Statue in the Academy, where those light their Torches that win the sacred Λαμπτεδοφορία: *Solon*, as *Ermippus* writes, when his Father had ruin'd his Estate in doing benefits and kindnesses to other men, though he had Friends enough that were willing to contribute to his relief, yet he was ashame'd to

be

be beholding to others, since he was descended from a Family who were accustomed to do kindnesses rather than receive them. He therefore apply'd himself to Merchant. *Solon turns Merchant.*

I grow old still learning many things.

But he was no admirer of Riches, esteeming those equally wealthy

*Who sees vast heaps of Gold at his Command,
Fine Horses, and a fair Estate in Land;
And Him, to whom indulgent Fate bestow'd
Sufficient wealth to buy him Clothes and Food:
But if to this a Wife, and pratling Boys,
And youth, and grace, He bath the height of
(Joys.*

And in another place,

*I would be rich, and yet to raise my purse
Not cheat, for wealth so got the Gods will curse.*

Now 'tis no shame for a prudent Man and a good Citizen not to be solicitous about superfluities, or to look after competent necessaries. In his time (according to *Hesiod*) a Trade

a Trade was not dishonourable, nor did it debase the equality of the professors ; but Merchandise was a worthy Calling, which brought home the good things which the barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the occasion of friendship with their Kings, and Mother of Experience. Some Merchants have built great Cities, as the Founder of *Massilia*, that Man so much esteem'd by the Gauls that live about the *Rhone*: Some also report that *Thales* and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician traded ; and that *Plato* defray'd the charges of his Travels by selling Oil in *Ægypt*. Now *Solon's* softness and profuseness, his discourse of pleasures in his Poems, too loose for a Philosopher, were occasion'd by his trading life ; for having suffer'd a thousand dangers, 'twas fit they should be recompenc'd with pleasure and enjoyments : But that he accounted himself rather poor than rich is evident from these lines ;

*Some wicked Men are rich, some good are poor ;
I would not change my Virtue for their Store ;
For that's a sure possession, firm as Fate ;
Whilst wealth now flies to this Man, now to
(that.*

Solon a
Poet.

At first he us'd his Poetry only in trifles, in vain humours, and to pass away his idle hours :

hours: but afterwards his Numbers contain'd moral Sentences, and many transactions of the Commonwealth, which he did not write for the bare sake of the History; but to apologize for his own actions, and sometimes to correct, chastise, and stir up the Athenians to noble performances. Some report that he design'd to put his Laws into a Poem, and began it thus,

*We humbly beg a blessing on our Laws
From mighty Jove, and honour and applause.*

Of moral Philosophy, as most of the then Learned wise Men, he chiefly esteemed Politicks; ^{only Pol-} in Physicks he was very rude and illiterate, ^{nicks.} as appears by this,

*Soft Snow and Hail fall from a frozen Cloud;
From glaring Lightning Thunder roars aloud;
The Winds make the Seas rough, they vex the Main;
But when they cease to blow, 'tis smooth and plain.*

And indeed 'tis probable, that at that time Thales only had rais'd wisdom above practice into speculation; and the other six were call'd wise from their prudence in Politick

concerns. Fame delivers that they had an interview at *Delphos*, and another at *Corinth*, by the procurement of *Periander*, who made provision for their entertainment: but their reputation was chiefly raised by sending the Tripod to them all, and their modest refusal, and complaisant yielding to one another: For (as the story goes) some of the *Coans* fishing with a Net, some strangers, *Mileians*, bought the draught at a venture; the Net brought up a Golden Tripod, which (they say) *Helen*, at her return from *Troy*, upon the remembrance of an old prophesie, threw in there. Now the strangers at first contesting with the Fishers about the Tripod, and the Cities espousing the quarrel so far as to engage themselves in a War; *Apollo* decided the Controversie, by commanding to present it to the wisest Man: and first it was sent to *Miletum* to *Thales*, the *Coans* freely presenting him with that for which they fought all the *Mileians*, but *Thales* declaring *Bias* the wiser person, it was sent to him; from him to another: and so going round them all, it came to *Thales* a second time; and at last, being carried from *Miletum* to *Thebes*, it was there dedicated to *Apollo Ismenius*. *Theophrastus* writes, that it was first presented to *Bias* at *Priene*; and next to *Thales* at *Miletum*; and so through all it returned to

to *Bias*, and was afterwards sent to *Delphos*. This is a general report, only some instead of a Tripod say this Present was a Cup sent by *Crœsus*; others a piece of Plate that one *Buthocles* had left. 'Tis reported that *Anacharsis* and *Solon*, and *Solon* and *Thales* were familiarly acquainted, and some have deliver'd parts of their discourse: For (they say) *Anacharsis* coming to *Athens*, knock'd at *Solon's* Door, and told him, That he being a stranger was come to be his Guest, and contract a Friendship with him: And *Solon* replying, 'Tis better to seek Friends at home; *Anacharsis* return'd, Then you that are at home take me as a Guest and as a Friend: *Solon* somewhat surprised at the briskness of that Repartee, receiv'd him kindly, and kept him some time with him, whilst he was managing the Commonwealth, and contriving his Laws; which when *Anacharsis* understand, he laught at him, for imagining the Citizens unruly desires and affections could be restrain'd by these Laws, which were like Spider's Webs, and would catch, 'tis true, the weak and poor, but are easily broken by the mighty and rich. To this *Solon* return'd, Men keep their promises when neither side can get any thing by the breaking of them; and he would so fit his Laws to the Citizens, that all should understand 'twas more eligible

Anacharsis and Solon acquainted.

Anacharsis's saying of Laws.

to be just and obey, than act contrary to the command. But the event rather agreed with the conjecture of *Anacharsis*, than *Solon's* hope. *Anacharsis*, being one time at the Assembly, said, he wondred much that in *Greece* the Wise Men should propose Causes, and Fools determine.

Solon and Thales acquainted. When *Solon* came to *Thales* at *Miletum*,

he wondred that *Thales* took no care to get him a Wife and Children. To this *Thales* made no answer for the present, but a few days after dealt with a stranger to pretend that he came from *Athens* ten days ago; and *Solon* enquiring what news there, the Man, according to his instructions, reply'd, None, but concerning a young Man's Funeral which the whole City celebrated; for he was (as the story went) the Son of an honourable Man, and the most vertuous of his Citizens; who was not then at home, but had been travelling a long time. *Solon* reply'd what a miserable Man is he! but what was his name? I have heard it, says the Man, but have now forgotten it, only there was a great talk of his Wisdom and his Justice. Thus *Solon* was drawn on by every answer, and his fears heightned, till at last, being extremely concern'd, he mention'd his own name, and ask't the stranger if that young Man was not call'd *Solon's* Son; and the stranger assenting, he began

Thales concerning Marriage.

began to beat his head, and to do and speak all those things which usually come from Men in so great a passion : But *Thales* held him, and with a smile said, these things, *Solon*, keep me from Marriage and getting Children, which are too great for your courage and your constancy to support ; however be not concern'd at the report, for 'tis a Fiction. This *Ermippus* delivers from *Pataecus*, who boasted that he had *Æsop's* Soul. But 'tis weak and absurd not to seek conveniences for fear of losing them, for upon the same account, we should neither love Wealth, Glory, nor Wisdom, since we may fear to be depriv'd of all these : Nay, even Vertue it self, than which there is no greater, nor more desirable possession, is often lost by Sickness or Enchantments : Now *Thales*, though unmarried, could not be free from solicitude, unless he likewise took no care of his Friends, his Kinsmen, or his Country ; nay (as History delivers) he adopted *Cubisthus* his Sister's Son. For the Soul, having a principle of kindness in it self, and being born to love, as well as perceive, think or remember, inclines, and fixes upon some stranger, when she hath none of her own to embrace. And as when an Estate wants a lawful Heir, strangers or Bastards endeavour to win the kind possessor, and when they have once gotten his

We should
seek conve-
niencies
though we
must once
lose them.

affection, his care and tenderness encreaseth with his love, insomuch that some Men that are rigid against the Marriage-bed, and slight the fruit of it, when their Servant's or Harlot's Boy is sick or dies, are almost kill'd with grief, and miserably lament. Some have very meanly, and below the dignity of a Man mourn'd for the loss of a Dog, or Horse; others upon the death of virtuous Children, have not been concern'd, nor guilty of a mean Action; but pass'd the rest of their Lives like Men, and according to the Principles of Reason. For 'tis not benevolence, but weakness that prompts a Man to continual grief, and makes those fear whom Reason hath not arm'd against Fortune, insomuch that they cannot enjoy the thing that they desire, the fear of losing it still vexing, and bringing constant racks and torments to their minds. Now we must not provide against the loss of Wealth, by Poverty; or of Friends, by refusing all acquaintance; or of Children, by getting none, but by Morality and Reason: But of this too much.

Now when the *Athenians* were tired with a tedious and difficult War, that they managed against the *Megarensians* for the Island *Salamis*; and made a Law that it should be Death for any Man, by writing or speaking, to assert that the City ought to endeavour

endeavour to recover it : *Solon*, vexed at the disgrace, and perceiving thousands of the youth wish'd for some body to begin, but did not dare to stir first for fear of the Law ; he counterfeited a distraction, and by his own Family it was spread abroad Solon
counterfeits
himself
mad. the City that he was mad ; he secretly compos'd an Elegy, and, getting it by heart that it might seem extempore, he ran out into the Market-place with a Cap upon his Head, and, the people gathering about him, got up upon the standing of the Cryer, and sang that Elegy which begins thus,

*From Salamis that glorious Isle I come
And bring you news, and noble Verses home.*

That Poem is call'd *Salamis*, it contains an hundred Verses, and elegantly written : now whilst he sang, his Friends commended it, and especially *Pisistratus*, who exhorted the Citizens to obey his directions ; insomuch that they recall'd the Law, and renew'd the War under *Solon's* conduct. The common report is, that with *Pisistratus* he sail'd to *Coliada*, and finding the Women, according to the Custom of the Country there, sacrificing to *Ceres*, he sent a trusty Friend to *Salamis*, who should pretend himself a *Renegade*, and advise them, if they desired to seize the chief *Athenian* Solon re-
takes Sala-
mis. Women.

Women, to make all sail to *Colias*: the *Megarenfians* presently man'd a Ship, and *Solon* seeing it put off from the Island, commanded the Women to be gone, and some beardless youth dress'd in their Garments, their Shoes and Mitres, and privately arm'd with Daggers, to dance and wanton near the Shore, till the Enemies had landed, and the Ship was in their power. Things being thus ordered, the *Megarenfians* were allur'd with the appearance, and, coming near, leap'd eager upon their Prey, so that not one of them escaped, and the *Athenians* presently set sail for the Island, and took it. Others deliver that it was not taken this way, but that he first received this Oracle from *Delphos*,

*Those Heroes that in fair Asopia rest,
All buried with their Faces to the West
Appease, go offer what shall please them best.*

And that *Solon* sailing by night to the Island, sacrific'd to the Heroes *Periphemus* and *Cichris*, and then taking 500 *Athenians* Voluntiers, (a Law having pass'd that those that took the Island should be chietest in the Government) with a number of Fisher Boats, and one great Ship, he anchored in a Bay of *Salamis* that looks towards *Eubœa*: and the *Megarenfians* that were then in the Island

Island being alarm'd by an uncertain report, in great disorder betook themselves to their Arms; and sent a Ship to discover the Enemies. This Ship *Solon* took, and securing the *Megarenians*, man'd it with *Athenians*, and gave them orders to sail to the Island with as much privacy as possible; and he with the other Soldiers march'd against the *Megarenians* by Land. Now whilst they were fighting, those from the Ship took the City, and this relation is confirm'd by the following Solemnity; for an *Athenian* Ship at first sail'd silently to the Island, then, with noise and a great shout, one leaps out arm'd, and with a strong cry runs to the Promontory *Sciradium*, to meet those that approach upon the Land; and just by there stands a Temple, which *Solon* dedicated to *Mars*; for he beat the *Megarenians*, and as many as were not kill'd in the Battel he sent away upon Articles: but the *Megarenians* still contending, and both sides having received considerable losses, they chose the *Spartans* for Arbitrators: Now many affirm that *Homer's* authority did *Solon* a considerable kindness, and that he having inserted a line into the Catalogue of Ships, read these Verses when the matter was to be determined.

*Twelve Ships from Salamis stout Ajax brought,
And rank't his Men where the Athenians fought.*

The *Athenians* account this but an idle story, and report, that *Solon* made it appear to the Judges, that *Philæus* and *Eury-saces*, the Sons of *Ajax*, being made free of *Athens*, gave them the Island ; and that one of them dwelt at *Buron* in *Attica*, the other at *Melite* ; and that the Tribe of the *Phileides*, from which *Pisistratus* was descended, receiv'd its name from this *Philæus*. A further argument against the *Megarensians* is taken from the dead Bodies, which are not buried after their fashion, but according to the *Athenian* : for the *Megarensians* turn the Carcase to the East, the *Athenians* to the West (but *Hereas* the *Megarensian* denies this, and affirms that they likewise turn the Body to the West) and that the *Athenians* have a Sepulchre for every Body, but the *Megarensians* put two or three into one : and farther they report, that some of *Apollo's* Oracles, where he calls *Salamis Ionia*, made much for *Solon*. This matter was determined by five *Spartans*, *Critolaides*, *Anompharetus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilas* and *Cleomenes*. For this *Solon* grew fam'd, and powerful ; but his advice to revenge the God at *Delphos*, to assist him, and not suffer the *Cirrheans* to prophane the Oracle,

Oracle, got him most repute among the Grecians: For upon his perswasion, the *Amphydiones* undertook the War, as amongst others, Aristotle affirms in his Treatise of the Victors at the *Pythian Games*, where he makes *Solon* the Author of this Counsel: *Solon* was not General in that Expedition, as *Ermippus* delivers out of *Evanthes* the *Samian*, for *Aeschines* the Orator says no such thing, and in the Commentary of the *Delphian* affairs *Alcmæon*, not *Solon* is declared Leader.

Now the *Cylonian* villany had a long while disturb'd the Commonwealth, even from that time when *Megacles* the *Archon* perswaded the Conspirators with *Cylon* that took sanctuary in *Minerva's Temple*, to stand to a fair trial; and they tying a thred to the Image, and holding one end of it, went down to the Tribunal: But when they came to the Temple of the Furies, the thred brake of its own accord, upon which, as if the Goddess had refus'd them protection, they were seiz'd by *Megacles*, and the other Magistrates: As many as were without the Temples were stoned, those that fled for sanctuary were butchered at the Altar, and only those escaped who made their application to the Wives of the Magistrates. But from that time they were call'd execrable, and hated. The remainder

der of this Faction grew strong again, and had continual quarrels with the Family of *Megacles*; now when the quarrel was at height, and the People divided, *Solon*, being then in reputation with the chiefest of the *Athenians*, interpos'd: And by intreaty and admonition perswaded the Execrable to submit to a trial, and the determination of three hundred noble Citizens: *Myron*, the Son of *Phlyeus*, being their accuser, they lost the Cause, and as many as were then alive were banished, and the Carcasses of the dead were dug up, and scattered beyond the Confines of the Country. In the midst of these distractions, the *Megarensians* falling upon them, they lost *Nisaea* and *Salamis* again: Besides the City was disturb'd with superstitious fears, and strange appearances; and the Priests declar'd that the Sacrifices intimated some Villanies and Pollutions that were to be expiated; upon this they sent for *Epimenides Phæstius* from *Crete*, who is counted the seventh Wise Man by those that will not admit *Periander* into the number: He seems to be a pious Man, skilful in the method of Expiations and the Rites of Religion; and therefore the Men of his Age call'd him the new *Curetes*, and Son of the Nymph *Balte*: When he came to *Athens*, and grew acquainted with *Solon*, he settled many things in order to his

Epimenides the Cretan.

Laws:

Laws: He made them decent in their worship, abated their Mourning, by ordering some Sacrifices presently after the Funeral; and taking off those severe and barbarous Ceremonies which the Women usually practised: But the greatest benefit was his cleansing the City, by certain propitiatory and expiatory Lustrations; and by that means making them more pliable to justice, and more ready to be united. 'Tis reported that looking upon *Munychia*, and considering a while, he said to thole that stood by, How blind is Man in future things! for did the *Athenians* foresee what mischief this would do their City, they would e'en eat it to be free; and some report that *Thales* made the like conjecture, for he commanded his Friends to bury him in an obscure and contemn'd quarter of *Milegia*, saying that should once be the *Forum* of the *Milegians*: *Epinomides* being much admired, and presented by the City with rich gifts, and considerable honours, requested but one branch of the sacred Olive, and that being granted he return'd.

The *Athenians* now free from the *Cylonian* sedition, and the execrable banish'd, fell into their old quarrels about the Government; there being as many different parties, as there were divisions in the City; The Higher quarter favoured Democracy, the

The Athenians quarrel about the Government.

the Lower Oligarchy, and those that liv'd towards the Sea, stood for a mixt sort of Government, and so hindred either of the other parties from prevailing: At the same time also the Poor quarrelling with the Rich about the inequality of Estates, the City seem'd in a desperate condition, and to be freed from its disturbances and settled by a Tyranny alone: For all the People were indebted to the Rich; and either they manur'd their Grounds, paying them six parts of the encrease, and were therefore call'd *Hecltemorii* and *Thetes*: Or else they engaged their Body for the debt, and might be seized by their Creditors; so some of them were made Slaves at home, others sold to strangers; some (for no Law farbad it) were forc'd to sell their Children, or run their Country to avoid the cruelty of their Creditors; but the most and stoutest of the People rose, and exhorted one another to stand to it to chuse a Leader, to destroy the savage exactors, divide the Land, and change the Government. Then the wisest of the *Athenians* perceiving *Solon* had least practised those exactions; that he had not sided with the Rich, and was not indebted with the Poor, prest him to assist the Commonwealth and compose the differences: Though *Phanias* the *Lesbian* affirms that *Solon*, to save his Country, put a trick upon

*Solon
quiets the
Sedition.*

upon both parties, and privately promised the Poor a division of the Lands, and the Rich security for their Debts: *Solon* was unwilling to meddle at first, being afraid of the pride of one party and the greediness of the other; but he was chosen Archon with *Philombrotus*, and impower'd to be an Arbitrator and settle Laws; the Rich consenting because he was wealthy, the Poor because he was honest: There is a saying of his before the Eelection, that Equality never breeds War, and this pleas'd both Parties, the Wealthy and the Poor; the one expecting this Equality in Dignity and Power, the other in Riches and Estate. Thus there being great hopes on both sides, the chief men prest *Solon* to take the Government into his own hands, and when he was once settled, manage the business roundly and according to his pleasure: and many of the Commons, perceiving it would be a difficult change to be effected by Law and Reason, were willing to have one wise and just man set over the Affairs: and some say that *Solon* had this Oracle from *Apollo*,

*Sit in the midst, if you the Ship will guide,
And thousands shall assist to stem the Tide:*

But chiefly his Familiars chid him for dis-
affecting Monarchy only for its name, as Solon refuses to be a Monarch, if

if the vertue of the Ruler could not make it a lawful Form : That this *Eubœa* had experimented who chose *Tunondas*, and *Mytilene* who took *Pittacus* for their Prince : yet this could not shake *Solon's* resolution, but (as they say) he reply'd to his Friends, 'Tis true a Tyranny is a very fair spot, but it hath no way to go out at : and in a Copy of Verses to *Phocus* he writes,

*That I have spar'd my Country, kept my Fame,
Nor stain'd my Glory with a Tyrant's name,
That when I could destroy I chose to save,
I cannot blush, I think my Actions brave :*

From which 'tis manifest that he was a man of great reputation before he gave his Laws. The several jeers that were put upon him for refusing the Power, he delivers in these words :

*Sure Solon was a soft, a shallow fool,
Who when the Power was offer'd would not rule ;
The Fish were in his Net, that many caught,
Yet he, mean Soul, refus'd to take the draught :
For else to have enjoy'd but one day's reign
He would have suffer'd the severest pain :
To have obtain'd such power in such a place
He would have lost himself, and damn'd his
(Race.)*

Thus

Thus he makes the Many and the Rascals speak of him. Yet though he refus'd the Government he was not too remiss in the Affairs, he did not appear mean and crouching to the powerful ; nor made his Laws to pleasure those that chose him ; for where 'twas well before he apply'd no remedy, nor altered any thing, for fear lest unsettling, and bringing the Commonwealth into a confusion, he should be too weak to new model and raise it to a tolerable condition ; but what he thought he could effect by perswasion upon the pliable, and by force upon the stubborn, that he did, joyning (as he himself speaks) force and justice ; and therefore when he was afterwards ask'd if he had left the *Athenians* the best Laws that could be given ; he reply'd, I have established the best they could receive. The way which the *Athenians* use to take off from the badnes of the thing, by giving it a good and innocent appellation, as for a Whore, a Mistress ; for Taxes, Rates ; for Garrisons, Guards ; for Prisons, Houses of Custody, seem'd at first to be Solon's contrivance, who nam'd this taking off the Peoples Debts *Seisachthia*, a throwing off a Burthen : For the first thing which he settled, was, that what Debts remain'd should be forgiven, and no Man for the future should engage his Body for a sum of Money :

C c

Though

Solon frees
the People
from their
Debts.

Though some (as *Androtion*) affirm that the Debts were not taken off, but the use only lessened, which so pleas'd the People, that they nam'd that kindness *Seisachthia*, together with the enlarging their Measures, and encreasing the value of their Money; for he made a Pound, which before contain'd but seventy three Drachms, to contain an hundred, so that though the number of pieces in the payment was equal, the value was less; which prov'd a considerable benefit to those that were to discharge great Debts, and no loss to the Creditors: But most agree that 'twas the taking off the Debts that was call'd *Seisachthia*, which is confirm'd by some places in his Poem, where he glories that he had remov'd the Tyes from their Estates, that heretofore they were Slaves, now Free; that some which were seiz'd for their Debts he had brought back from other Countries, where by the length of their exile they had forgotten their Mother Tongue, and some he had set at liberty which were in cruel slavery at home. When he was designing this, a very unlucky thing hapned; for when he had resolv'd to take off the Debts, and was thinking on a good way and fit beginning for the action, he told some of his Friends, *Conon*, *Clinias* and *Hipponicus*, in whom he had a great deal of confidence, that

that he would not meddle with the Lands, but only free the People from their Debts ; they using the advantage, took up vast sums of Money and purchased some large Farms, and when the Law was enacted they kept the Possessions, and would not return the Money ; which brought *Solon* into a great suspicion and dislike, as if he himself had not been abus'd, but was concern'd in the contrivance : but he presently stop'd this suspicion by releasing his Debtours of five Talents (for he had lent so much) according to the Law : others, as *Goluzelus* the Rhodian, say fifteen, but his Friends were ever afterward called *Chreocopidæ*. In this he pleas'd neither Party, for the Rich were angry for their Money, and the Poor that the Land was not divided, and (as *Lycurgus* ordered in his Commonwealth) all levell'd to one degree. He, 'tis true, being the Eleventh from *Hercules*, and having reign'd many years in *Lacedaemon*, had gotten a great reputation, power and Friends, which he could use in modelling his State ; and applying force more than perswasion, insomuch that he lost his Eye in the scuffle, brought about the most effectual means to preserve and unite a State, by not permitting any to be Poor or Rich in his Commonwealth. But *Solon* could not rise to that by his Policy, yet he acted to the

The difference between Solon and Lycurgus.

height of his power, having nothing but the good will and good opinion of his Citizens to rely on: And that he offended most that look'd for another posture of Affairs, he declares in these words:

*Solon en-
trusted
with all
the power.* Once they adorn'd me, but they now despise,
And squint upon me with their envious eyes!

*He repeals
Draco's
Laws.*

*Draco's
Laws.*

But in a little time being sensible of the profit, they laid by their grudges, made a publick Sacrifice, calling it *Seisacthia*, and chose Solon to new model and make Laws for the Commonwealth: They gave him power over all their Magistracies, their Assemblies, Courts, Senates; that he should appoint the Number, Times of meeting, and what Estate they must have that could be capable of these: and dissolve or continue any of the present Constitutions according to his pleasure. First then he repeal'd all *Draco's Laws*, except those concerning Murther, because they were too severe, and their punishments too great; for Death was appointed for almost all offences, insomuch that those that were convicted of Idleness were to dye, and those that stole a Cabbage, or an Apple, to suffer as the Villains that committed Sacrifge or Murther: And therefore *Demades* is famous for saying that *Draco's Laws* were not

not writ with Ink but Blood : and he himself being once ask'd, Why he made Death the punishment of most offences? reply'd, Small ones deserve that, and I have no higher for the greater Crimes. Next, *Solon*, being willing to continue the Magistracy in the hands of the rich Men, and yet receive the People into the other part of the Government, he took an account of the Citizens Estates, and those that were worth five hundred Measures of Wet and Dry he plac'd in the first rank, calling them *Pentacosimedimnoi*; those that could keep an Horse, or were worth three hundred Measures, were nam'd *Hippada telounies*, and made the second Class; the *Zeugitæ* that had two hundred Measures were in the third; and all the others were call'd *Thetes*, who were not admitted to any Office, but could come to the Assembly, and give their Voices: which at first seem'd nothing, but afterwards appear'd a considerable privilege; for most of the Controversies came to their hearing, because in all matters that were under the cognizance of the other Magistrates there lay an appeal to that Assembly. Beside 'tis said that he was obscure and ambiguous in the wording of his Laws, on purpose to encrease the honour of his Courts; for since their differences could not be adjusted by the

Letter, they were to bring all their Causes to the Judges, who were as Masters, and Interpreters of the Laws: and of this Equality he himself makes mention in this manner ;

*What power was fit I did on all bestow,
Not rais'd the Poor too high, nor prest too low :
The Rich that rul'd, and every Office bore
Confin'd by Laws they could not press the Poor ;
Both parties I secur'd from lawless might,
So none prevail'd upon another's right :*

Solon's
*Laws about
injuries.*

And for the greater security of the weak Commons, he gave all liberty to enter an Action against another for an injury ; so that if one was beaten, maim'd, or suffer'd any violence, any man that would, and was able, might prosecute the injurious : intending by this to accustom the Citizens, like members of the same Body, to resent and be sensible of one anothers injuries ; and there is a saying of his agreeable to this Law ; for being ask'd what City was best modell'd ? That, says he, where those that are not injur'd equally prosecute the unjust with those that are : when he had constituted the *Areopagus* of the yearly Magistrates, of which he himself, being Archon, was a Member ; still observing that the People, now free from their Debts, grew proud

He institutes the
Areopagus.

proud and imperious; he settled another Court of four hundred, a hundred out of The Court of 400. each of the four Tribes, which were to inspect all matters before they were to be propounded to the People; and to take care that nothing but what had been diligently examin'd, should be brought before the general Assembly: The upper Council he made inspectors and keepers of the Laws, supposing that the Commonwealth held by these two Councils, as by firm Anchors, would be less liable to be toss'd by tumults, and the People be more at quiet: Thus most deliver that *Solon* instituted the *Areopagus*, which seems to be confirm'd, because *Draco* makes no mention of the *Areopagites*, but in all capital Causes applies himself to the *Ephetæ*: Yet *Solon's* thirteenth Table contains the eighth Law, set down in these words: "Whoever before *Solon's* Archonship were disgrac'd let them be restor'd, " except those that being condemn'd by the " *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, or the Kings, for " Murther, or designs against the Government, had fled their Country when this " Law was made: And these words seem to shew that the *Areopagus* was before *Solon's* Laws; for who could be condemn'd by that Council before his time, if he was the first that instituted the Court? Unless, which is probable, there is some defect and

*The Law
against
Neuters in
a Tumult.*

*The Law
about Heir-
esses.*

obscurity in this Table, and it should run thus, Those that are convicted of such offences as belong to the cognizance of the *Areopagites, Ephetæ, or the Prytanes*, when this Law was made, should remain still in disgrace, whilst others are restor'd: And this was his meaning. Amongst his other Laws, that is very peculiar, and surprising, which makes all those infamous who stand Neuters in a Sedition; for it seems, he would not have any one insensible and regardless of the Publick, and, securing his private Affairs, glory that he had no feeling of the distempers of his Country: But presently joyn with the good party and those that had the right upon their side, assist, and venture with them, rather than shift out of harms way, and watch who would get the better. But that seems an absurd and foolish Law, which permits an Heiress, if her lawful Husband prove impotent, to lye with his nearest Kinsman: Yet some say, this Law was well contriv'd against those, who, conscious of their own inability, yet, for the sake of the portion, would match with Heiresses, and make use of Law to put a violence upon Nature; for now since she can lye with whom she please, they must either abstain from such Marriages, or continue them with disgrace, and suffer for their covetousness and design'd affront:

affront : Besides 'tis well done to confine her to her Husband's nearest Kinsman, that the Children may be of the same Family ; and agreeable to this is the Law that the Bride and Bridegrom shall be shut into a Chamber, and eat a Quince together, and that her Husband is oblig'd to go in to such an Heiress thrice a Month, for though he gets no Children, yet 'tis an honour and due affection which an Husband ought to pay to a virtuous chaste Wife ; it takes off all petty differences, and will not permit their little quarrels to proceed to a rupture.

In all other Marriages he forbade Dowries to be given, the Wife was to have three suits of Clothes, a little inconsiderable Household-stuff, and that was all : For he would not have Marriages contracted for gain, or an Estate, but for pure Love, kind Affection, and to get Children. *Dionysius*, when his Mother advis'd him to marry one of his Citizens, Indeed, says he, by my Tyranny I have broken my Country's Laws, but cannot put a violence upon those of Nature by an unseasonable Marriage. Such disorder is never to be suffer'd in a Commonwealth, nor such unseasonable and unperforming Marriages, which neither attain their due end, nor fruit : But any provident Governor or Law-giver might say to an old Man that takes a young Wife, what

Concerning
other Mar-
riages.

what is spoken to *Philocetes* in the Tragedy ; Poor Wretch, in what a fit condition art thou to be Married ! and if he finds a young Man with a rich old Woman, like a Partridge growing fat upon the duty, remove him to a Virgin that needs a Husband ; and of this enough.

Not to speak evil of the Dead.

Another commendable Law of *Solon's*, is that which forbids Men to speak evil of the Dead ; for 'tis pious to think them sacred, and just not to meddle with those that are gone, and politick to prevent the perpetuity of discord : He likewise forbad them to speak evil of the Living in the Temple, before the Tribunal, in the Court, or at the Games ; or else to pay three Drachmas to the private Person, and two to the publick ; for never to be able to rule Passion shews a weak nature, and ill breeding ; and always to moderate it, is very hard, and to some impossible : Now the matter of Laws must be possible if the maker designs to punish few in order to their amendment, and not many to no purpose.

Concerning Wills.

He is likewise much commended for his Law concerning Wills, for before none could be made ; but all the Wealth and Estate of the deceased belonged to his Family : But he permitted them, if they had no Children, to bestow it on whom they pleased ; esteeming Friendship a stronger Tye than

than Kindred, and Affection than Necessity; and thus made every man's Estate in the disposal of the possessor: yet he allow'd not all sorts of Legacies, but those only which were not extorted by the phrenzy of a Disease, charms, imprisonment, force, or the persuasions of his Wife; with good reason thinking it all one between deceit and necessity, flattery or compulsion, since both are equally powerful to perswade a man from Reason.

He regulated the Walks, Feasts, and *Laws concerning W-*
Mourning of the Women; and took away *men.*
every thing that was either unbecoming or immodest; when they walk'd abroad no more than three Coats were allow'd them; a half Peny-worth of meat and drink, nor a Basket above a cubit high; and at night they were not to stir but in a Chariot; with a Torch before them. The Mourners tearing themselves to raise pity, and their lamentations at Strangers Funerals he forbade. To offer an Ox at the Grave was not permitted; nor to bury above three Garments with the Body, or visit the Tombs of any besides their own Family, unless at the very Funeral; most of which are likewise forbidden by our Laws, but this is farther added in ours, that those that are convicted of extravagance in their Mournings, are to be punished as soft and ef-
Concerning Mourning.
feminate

feminate by the Censors of the Women.

Solon in-
stitutes
Trades.

He observing the City was fill'd with persons that flock'd from all parts into *Attica*, for security of living, and that most of the Country was barren and unfruitful ; and the Traders at Sea imported nothing to those that could give them no exchange : he brought his Citizens to Trade ; and made a Law that no Son should be oblig'd to relieve his Father, who had not bred

The differ- him up to any Calling. 'Tis true *Lycur-*
rence be- *lus* having a City free from all Strangers,
curgus and and enough, or (according to *Euripides*)
Solon. sufficient for twice so many ; and abundance of Labourers about *Sparta*, who should not be kept idle, but be broken with continual toil and work, he did well to

take off his Citizens from Trades laborious and mechanical, and keep them to their Arms, and teach them only the Art of War. But *Solon* fitting his Laws according to the state of Things, and not ordering things according to his Laws, and finding the ground scarce rich enough to maintain the Farmers, and altogether unable to feed the lazy multitude ; he brought Trades into credit, and ordered the Areopagites to examine how every Man got his living, and chastise the idle : But that Law was more rigid, which (as *Heraclides Ponticus* deli-
vers)

Law about
the Sons of
Harlots.

vers) declar'd the Sons of Harlots not oblig'd to relieve their Fathers, for he that will not marry, doth not take a Woman for Children, but for pleasure, and thus hath his just reward, having no pretence to upbraid his Children, to whom he hath made their very Birth a scandal and reproach. But in short, many of Solon's Laws about Women are absurd: for he permitted any one to kill an Adulterer that found him in the Act; if any one forc'd a free Woman, an hundred Drachma's was the Fine; if he entic'd her, twenty; except those that traded for a price, I mean common Whores; for they go openly to those that hire them. He made it unlawful to sell a Daughter, or a Sister, unless, being yet unmarried, she was found wanton with a Man. Now 'tis irrational to punish the same Crime sometimes very severely and without remorse, and sometimes very lightly and as 'twere in sport, with a trivial Fine, unless there being little Money then in Athens, that scarcity made those Mults the more grievous punishment. The value of Sacrifices must be one Sheep, and a Drachma for a Bushel. The Victor in the Isthmian Games was to have for reward an hundred Drachma's. The Conqueror in the Olympian five hundred. He that caught a Dog Wolf, five Drachma's, he that kill'd a Bitch, One:

Solons
Laws a-
bout Wo-
men.

The scarci-
ty of Mo-
ney.

One: the former sum (as *Demetrius Phalereus* asserts) was the value of an Ox, the latter of a Sheep: but those prices which in his sixteenth Table he sets on the choice Sacrifices were certainly far greater, for else they are very little in comparison of the present. The *Athenians*, their Fields being better for Pasture than Corn, were from the beginning great enemies to

*Whence the
Athenian
Tribes
call'd.*

Wolves; and some affirm their Tribes did net take their names from the Sons of *Javan*, but from the different sorts of Occupation that they followed; the Soldiers were call'd *Hopliteæ*, the Crafts-men *Ergatæ*; and of the remaining two, the Farmers, *Georgi*, and the Shepherds and Grasiers *Aigicoræ*. Besides, since the Country hath but few Rivers, Lakes, or large Springs, and many us'd Wells which they had dug, there was a Law made that where there was a publick Well within a *Hippicon* (that is four Furlongs) all should draw at that; but when it was farther off they might provide a private Well: and if they had dug ten fathom deep and could find no Water, they had liberty to fetch ten Gallons a day from their neighbours: for he thought it prudent to make Provision against want, but not encourage laziness. Besides, he shew'd his skill in the Orders about planting, for any one that would

*Laws con-
cerning
Planting
and other
things.*

plant

plant another Tree, was not to set it within five foot of his Neighbour's Field ; but if a Fig or an Olive, not within nine; for their Roots spread farther, nor can they be planted near all sorts of Trees without damage, for they draw away the nourishment, and hurt some by their venomous effluvia. He that would dig a Pit or a Ditch, was to dig it at as far a distance from his Neighbour's Ground as it was deep : And he that would raise stocks of Bees, was to raise them within Three hundred feet of those which another had already rais'd : He permitted only Oil to be exported, and those that did export any other Fruit, the Archon was solemnly to curse, or else pay himself an hundred Drachma's : And this Law was written in his first Table, and therefore let none think those liars that affirm, the exportation of Figs was heretofore unlawful ; and the Informer against the Delinquents call'd a Sycophant. Besides he made a Law concerning hurts and injuries from Beasts, in which he commands the Master of any Dog that bit a Man, to hang him in a Chain of four Cubits ; and this was a good device for Mens security. The Law concerning naturalizing Strangers is severe, for he permitted only those to be made Free of Athens, who were in perpetual exile from their own Country, or came with their whole Family

Laws a-
bout hurt-
ful Beasts.

Law a-
bout natu-
ralizing
Strangers.

to

to trade there ; and this he did not to discourage Strangers, but rather invite them, by making them secure of the privileges of that Government : And besides he thought they would prove the more faithful Citizens, who had been forc'd from their own Country, or voluntarily forsook it.

But the Law concerning publick Entertainments was peculiarly Solon's; for if any *publick Feasts.* Man came often, or if he that was invited refus'd, they were punished ; for he concluded that one was greedy, the other a contemner of the publick : All his Laws he established for an hundred years, and writ them in wooden Tables nam'd *Axonas*, which might be turn'd round in oblong cases ; some of their relicks may be now seen in the Common Hall at *Athens*. These (as Aristotle affirms) are called *Cyrbes* ; and Cratinus the Comedian, somewhere speaking of *Draco* and *Solon*, says, in those *Cyrbes* they now parch Pease. But some say those are properly *Cyrbes*, which contain the Laws concerning Sacrifices and the Rites of Religion, and all the others *Axonas*. The Senate all joyntly swore to confirm the Laws, and every one of the *Thesmophætæ* vow'd at the Cross in the Market-place, that if he brake any of the Statutes, he would dedicate a golden Statue as big as himself, at *Delphos*. Now observing the irregularity of the Months,

Solon regulates the Months.

Months, and that the Moon did not always rise and set with the Sun : But often in the same day overtake and go before him, he ordered the day should be nam'd *παλαιός καὶ νέος*, *the Old and New*; attributing that part of it which was before the conjunction to the Old Moon, and the rest to the New. He being the first it seems that understood that

Verse of *Homer*,

Tε περ φάνων Ο. πλωσ, οὐδ' ἵστημενοι.

The following day he call'd the new Moon, after the twentieth he added no day, but counting backward, according to the decreasing Phases of the Moon he reckon'd up to thirty.

Now when these Laws were enacted, and Solon some came to *Solon* every day, either to commend or dispraise them, and advise, if possible, to leave out, or put in something : And many were curious, and desired him to explain, and tell the meaning of such and such a passage, and he knowing that not to do it was disobliging, and to do it would get him ill will ; and desirous to bring himself out of all straits, and take off all reasons of suspicion from those that sought them : For 'tis a hard thing (as he himself says) in great affairs to please every body : he pretended himself Master of a Ship, and having obtain'd leave for ten years absence, he departed : For he hoped by that time his

*leaves A
thems.*

Solon in Ægypt. Laws would be customary and familiar : his first Voyage was for Ægypt, and he liv'd (as he himself says)

Near Nilus mouth, by fair Canopus shore.

He spent some time in study with *Psenophis* of *Hierapolis* and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the most famous of all the Priests ; from whom (as *Plato* says) getting some knowledge of the Atlantick Island, he put it into a Poem, and endeavoured to bring it into credit among the *Grecians* : from thence he sail'd to *Cyprus*, where he was made much on by *Philocyprus* one of the Kings there, who had a small City built by *Demophoon* *Theseus*'s Son, near the River *Clarius*, in a strong place, 'tis true, but barren and uneasie of access. *Solon* persuad'd him, since there lay a fair plain below, to remove, and build a more pleasant and greater City : And he there present took care to get inhabitants, and fitted it both for defence and convenience of living : insomuch that many Subjects flock'd to *Philocyprus*, and the other Kings imitated the design ; and therefore to honour *Solon*, he call'd the City *Solos*, which was formerly nam'd *Apeia* : and *Solon* himself in his Elegies speaking to *Philocyprus*, mentions this Foundation in thele words ;

*Long may you live, and fill the Solian Throne
Succeeded still by Children of your own :*

And

*Solon in
Cyprus.*

*And whilst from your bless'd Isle I gently sail,
Let Venus send a kind and prosperous Gale :
Let her enlarge the bounds of your Command,
And raise your Town, and send me safe to Land.*

That *Solon* should discourse with *Crœsus*, Solon with Crœsus. some think not agreeable with Chronology; but I cannot reject so credible a relation, and so well attested, (and what is more) so agreeable to *Solon's* temper, so worthy his wisdom and greatness of mind, because forsooth it doth not agree with some Chronological Canons, which thousands have endeavoured to regulate, and yet to this day could never bring the differing Opinions to any agreement. And therefore they say *Solon* coming to *Crœsus* at his request, was in the same condition, as an inland Man when first he goes to see the Sea; for as he fancies every River he meets with to be the Ocean, so *Solon*, as he pass'd through the Court, and saw a great many Nobles richly dress'd, and proudly attended with a multitude of Guards and Footboys, thought every one had been the King, till he was brought to *Crœsus*, who was deck'd with all the ornaments of Jewels, Purple and Embroidery; all that could make him fine, and admired, that he might appear the most glorious and gaudy spectacle. Now when *Solon* came before him, and seem'd not at all surpris'd, nor

D d 2 gave

gave *Cræsus* those complements he expected ; but shew'd himself to all discerning eyes, to be a Man that despised such gaudy vanities ; he commanded them to shew him all his Wealth, though he did not desire to see it, and all his Warlike preparations : now when he return'd from viewing all this, *Cræsus* ask'd him if ever he had seen an happier Man than he was ? and when *Solon* answer'd he knew one *Tellus* a Citizen of his, and told him that this *Tellus* was an honest Man, had good Children, a competent Estate, and dy'd bravely for his Country : *Cræsus* took him for an ill-bred fellow, and a fool, for not measuring happiness by the abundance of Gold and Silver ; and preferring the life and death of a private and mean Man, before so much power and such an Empire : he ask'd him again if besides *Tellus*, he knew any other Man more happy ? and *Solon* replying yes, *Cleobis* and *Bito*, who were Brothers, were very loving and extream dutiful to their Mother ; for when the Oxen went but slow, they put themselves into the Waggon, and drew their Mother to *Juno's* Temple, who was extreamly pleas'd with their action, and call'd happy by her Neighbours ; and then sacrificing, and feasting, they never rose again, but died without pains or convulsions immediately after they had gotten so great a credit and

and reputation. What, says *Crœsus* angry, and dost not thou reckon us amongst the happy Men? and *Solon*, unwilling either to flatter or exasperate him more, reply'd; The Gods, O King, in other things have given the Greeks nothing great and excellent, so our Wisdom is bold, and mean, and low, not noble and kingly; and this observing the numerous misfortunes that attend all conditions, forbids us to grow insolent upon our present Enjoyments, or to admire any mans happiness that may change, for what variety will happen is unknown; but to whom God hath continued happiness unto the end, that Man we call happy; but his happiness that is yet alive, is like the glory and crown of a Wrestler that is still within the Ring, unsteady and uncertain: after this he was dismiss'd, having griev'd, but not instructed *Crœsus*. But Solon's ^{discourse} with *A. E. Sop.* he that writ the Fables (being then at *Sardis*, upon *Crœsus* his invitation, and very much esteem'd) was concern'd that *Solon* was so meanly treated, and gave him this advice: *Solon*, let your visits to Kings be as seldom, or as pleasant as you can: and *Solon* reply'd, No faith, but let them be as seldom, or as profitable as you can. Then indeed *Crœsus* despis'd *Solon*, but when he was overcome by *Cyrus*, had lost his City, was taken alive, condemn'd to be burnt,

and laid bound upon the Pile before all the *Perians* and *Cyrus* himself; he cry'd out as loud as possibly he could three times, O *Solon*; and *Cyrus* surpris'd, and sending some to enquire, what Man, or God this *Solon* was, that he only invok'd in this unavoidable misfortune? *Cræsus* told him the whole story, saying he was one of the Wise Men of *Greece*, whom I sent for, not to be instructed, or to learn any thing that I wanted, but that he should see, and be a witness of my Happiness: the loss of which is now a greater evil, than the enjoyment was a good; for when I had them they were goods only in opinion, but now the loss of them hath brought upon me intolerable and real Evils; and that man conjecturing these present calamities would happen, bad me look to the end of my life, and not rely and grow proud upon uncertainties. When this was told *Cyrus*, who was a wiser man than *Cræsus*, and seeing in the present example that *Solon's* saying was confirm'd, he not only freed *Cræsus* from punishment, but honour'd him as long as he lived; and *Solon* had the glory by the same saying to instruct one King, and save another.

When *Solon* was gone, the Citizens began to quarrel; *Lycurgus* headed the lower quarter, *Megacles* the Son of *Akmaeon* those that liv'd toward the Sea, and *Pisistratus* the

the upper quarter, in which were the meanest People (the *Thetes*) and greatest Enemies to the rich : Insomuch that though the City yet us'd their Laws, yet all look'd for, and desir'd a change of Government, hoping the change would be better for them, and put them above the contrary Faction.

Affairs standing thus, *Solon* return'd and was reverenced by all, and honoured : But his old Age would not permit him to be as active, and speak in the publick, as formerly ; but privately discoursing with the heads of the Factions, he endeavoured to compose the differences : *Pisistratus* still appearing the most tractable ; for he was a sweet and taking Man in his discourse, a friend to the poor, and very little given to enmity or passion, and what his nature had not given, custom and imitation taught ; therefore he was trusted more than the others, being accounted a prudent moderate Man, one that lov'd equality, and would be an enemy to him that strove against the present Settlement, rather than undermine it himself ; for which his fair carriage he deceiv'd the People. But *Solon* presently discovered him, and found out his design ; yet did not hate him upon this, but endeavoured to humble him, and bring him off from his ambition, and often told him, and others, that if any one would take away his

Solon re-
tuns to A-
thens.

*Tragedies
begun.*

aspiring thoughts and desire of Empire, none would make a more virtuous Man, or a more excellent Citizen. *Thespis* at this time beginning to act Tragedies, and the thing, because 'twas new, taking very much with the multitude; for 'twas not yet a matter of strife and contention; *Solon*, being by nature a lover of learning, and now in his old Age living idle, sporting and cheering himself with Musick and a glass of Wine, went to see *Thespis* himself (as the ancient Custom was) act; and after the Play was done, he discours'd him, and ask'd him if he was not ashamed to tell so many lies before such a Company; and *Thespis* replying, 'Tis no harm to say or do so in jest and merriment; *Solon* vehemently striking his staff against the Ground, Ay, says he, if we honour and commend such Merriment as this, we shall find it will creep into our serious affairs.

Pisistratus gets the Government. Now when *Pisistratus*, having wounded himself, was brought into the Market place in a Chariot, and stirred up the People, as if he had been thus dealt with for his affection to the Government, and a great many were enraged, and cry'd out: *Solon*, coming close to him, said, *Pisistratus*, you do not imitate *Ulysses* well; for you cut your self to bring your Citizens into a tumult, but he to deceive his Enemies; Then presently the People would defend *Pisistratus*,

Pisistratus, and gathered into an Assembly ; where one *Ariston* making a motion that they should allow *Pisistratus* fifty Club-men for a Guard to his Person, *Solon* oppos'd it, and talk'd a great deal such as he hath left us in his Poems,

You doat upon his Words and taking phrase.

And again,

*True, each Man single is a crafty Soul,
But all together ye make one giddy Fool :*

But observing the poor Men an-end to gratifie *Pisistratus*, and tumultuous ; and the rich fearful, and getting out of harms way, he departed ; saying he was wiser than some, and stouter than others : Wiser than those that did not understand the design, stouter than those that, though they understood it, were afraid to oppose the Tyranny. Now the People having past the Law, were not exact with *Pisistratus* about the number of his Club-men, but took no notice of it, though he listed and kept as many as he would, till he seiz'd the Castle : When that was done, and the City in an uproar, *Megacles* with all of his Family straight fled : But *Solon*, though he was now very old, and had none to back him ; yet came into the Market-place, and made a speech to his Citizens, sometimes blaming their inadver-tency and meanness of Spirit, sometimes passionately

passionately exhorting them, not thus tamely to lose their Liberty ; and likewise then spoke that memorable saying, that before 'twas an easier task to have stop'd the rising Tyranny, but now the greater and more glorious action to destroy it, when it was begun already, and had gathered strength. But all being afraid to side with him, he return'd home, and taking his Arms, he brought them out, and laid them in the Porch before his Door, with these words : To the utmost of my power I have striven for my Country and my Laws, and then he busied himself no more : His Friends advising him to fly, he refus'd, but writ a Poem, and thus rattled the Athenians,

*If now you smart, blame not the heavenly powers,
For they are good, the fault is only ours ;
We gave him all our Forts, we took the Chain,
And now he makes us Slaves, yet we complain.*

And many telling him that the Tyrant would have his Head for this, and asking to what he trusted that he ventur'd to speak so boldly, he reply'd, my old Age. But *Pisistratus*, having gotten the command, so honoured *Solon*, obliged and kindly entertained him, that *Solon* gave him his advice, and approv'd many of his Actions : For he kept many of *Solon's* Laws, observed them himself, and compell'd his Friends to obey.

And

And he himself, though then in power, being accus'd of Murther before the *Areopagus*, came quietly to clear himself, but his accuser let fall the Indictment. And he added other Laws, one of which is, that the maim'd in the Wars should be maintain'd at the publick charge ; this *Heraclides Ponticus* delivers, and that *Pisistratus* followed *Solon's* example in this, who had before determin'd it in the case of one *Therippus* that was maim'd : and *Theophrastus* asserts, that 'twas *Pisistratus*, not *Solon*, that made that Law against Laziness, which was the reason that the Country was better manur'd, and the City not so clogg'd with Inhabitants. Now *Solon* having begun a great Work in Verse, the relation or Fable of the Atlantick Islands, which he had learn'd from the wise Men in *Sais*, and was convenient for the *Athenians* to know, grew weary of it ; not (as *Plato* says) by reason of his multitude of busines, but his age, and being discourag'd at the greatness of the task ; for these Verses testifie that he had leisure enough,

Now I grow old, yet still I learn.

And again,

*I mind a Song, a Miss and glafs of Wine ;
These are most mens delights, & these are mine :*

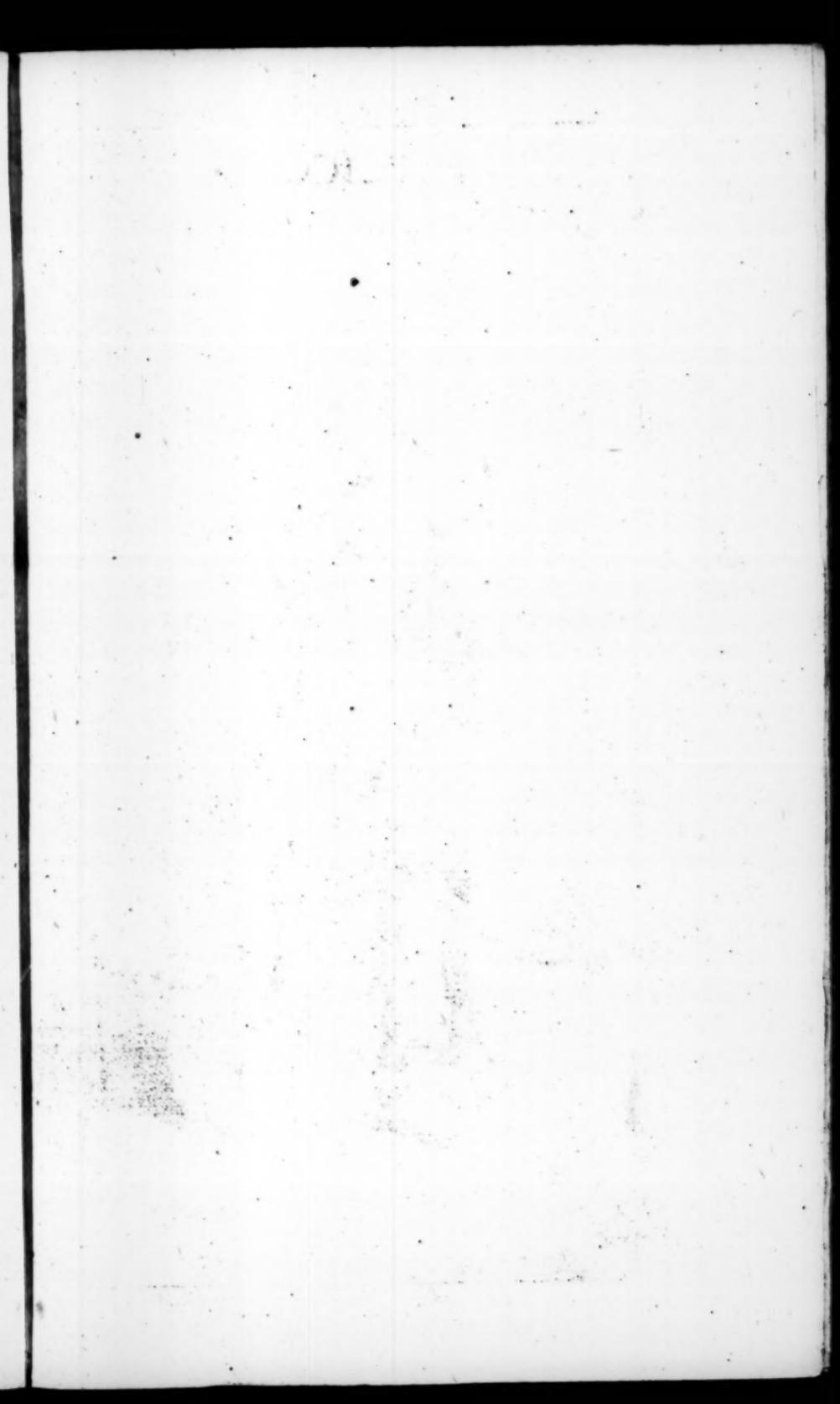
But

But *Plato* willing to improve the Story of the Islands, as if 'twere a fair Estate that wanted an Heir, and descended to him; makes them stately Entrances, noble Enclosures, large Courts, such as no Essay, no Fable, no Fiction ever had before; but beginning it late, he ended his Life before his Work; and so the Readers trouble for the unfinish'd part is the greater, as the satisfaction he takes in that which is compleat is extraordinary: for as the City of *Athens* left only the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* unfinish'd, so *Plato*, amongst all his excellent Works, left this only Piece about the Atlantick Islands imperfect: *Solon* liv'd after *Pisistratus* seiz'd the Government (as *Heracleides Ponticus* asserts) a long time; but *Phanias* the *Ephesian* says, not full two years; for *Pisistratus* began his Tyranny when *Cormias* was Archon; and *Phanias* says *Solon* dy'd under *Hegestratus*, who succeeded *Cormias*. Now the story that his Ashes were scatter'd about the Island *Salamis*, is too absurd to be believ'd, or to be any thing but a mere Fable; and yet 'tis written by many considerable Men; and *Aristotle* the Philosopher.

*Solon's
Death.*

The End of Solon's Life.

THE



ad pag: 3

POPLICOLA.



M Burghers delin. et sculps.

THE
L I F E
O F
P. V A L. POPLICOLA.

Englighed from the Greek,
By Mr. Dodswell.

NOW Solon making such a Figure, to him we compare *Poplicola*, which later Title the *Roman People* entail'd upon his merit, as a noble access to his former name *Publius Valerius*. He descended from *Valerius*, a man amongst our Ancestors, reputed the principal reconciler of the differences betwixt *Roman* and *Sabine*, and one that with the greatest success perswaded their Kings to assent thereto

Valerius's
extraktion
whence.

unto, and from a state of hostility compos'd them into a friendly union. To this man *Publius Valerius* owing his Birth (as they write) whilst *Rome* remain'd under its Kingly Government, obtain'd a name as great from his eloquence as his riches; the one courteously employing in a liberal distribution to the poor, the other generously in the service of justice, as thereby assuring, should the Government fall into a Republick, he would become a chief state in the Community. It happen'd afterward that

*The usurpa-
tion of Tar-
quinus
Superbus.*

the unjust and illegal aspiring of *Tarquinus Superbus* to the Crown, with his making it instead of Kingly rule the instrument of insolence and tyranny; mov'd the people into an hatred and regret of his reign, insomuch that from the death of *Lucretia* (*she* *sacrificing her own life to the vengeance of his violence*) they took an occasion of revolt. And *L. Brutus* fitting things for a change, aided with the conduct of *Valerius*, depos'd the Kings. And whilst the people inclin'd towards the electing one Leader instead of their King, *Valerius* acquiesc'd in this, that to rule was rather *Brutus's* due, as the Author of the Democracy. But the name of Monarchy growing odious to the people, and to live under a divided power carrying a complacency in the prospect, they chose two to the managery thereof;

thereof; which put *Valerius* in hopes that with *Brutus* he might be elected Consul, but was disappointed; for instead of *Valerius*, ^{disappointed} *Tarquinius Collatinus* was chosen, the Husband of *Lucretia*, a Man no ways more virtuous than *Valerius*. But the Nobles, dreading the return of their Kings, who still us'd all endeavours abroad and solicitations at home, were resolv'd upon a Chieftain of an intense hatred to them, and no ways indulging to their interest.

Now *Valerius* was troubled, that his service for his Country should be suspected to be misemployed, because he sustained no private injury from the insolence of the Tyrants, withdrew himself from the Senate, and practice of the Bar, quitting all publick concerns: Which gave an occasion of discourse and fear too; lest, through malice, reconcil'd to the Kings side, he should prove the ruine of the State, tottering as yet under the uncertainties of a change. But *Brutus* being jealous of some others, determin'd to give the Test to the Senate upon the Altars: Upon the day appointed *Valerius* came with chearfulness into the *Forum*, and was the first Man that protested neither to contribute to, or promote *Tarquin's* designs, but rigorously to maintain his liberty, which gave great satisfaction to the Senate and ^{His private retirement.}

and assurance to the Consuls, his actions soon after shewing the sincerity of his Oath.

For Ambassadors came from Tarquin, with

Letters affecting a populacy; and full of insinuating expressions, whereby they thought

to wheedle the People, assuring them, the King had cast off all insolence, and made moderation the only measures of his desires.

To this Embassy the Consuls thought fit

οἰστὸπλῆν. to give publick audience : But *Valerius op-*
δος περὶ pos'd it, and would not permit, that to the
γένν. poorer sort, who entertain'd the fear of a

poorer sort, who entertained the fear of a War with more reluctance than Tyranny, any occasion should be offer'd, or any temptations to new designs. Afterwards other

Ambassadors arriv'd, who declar'd their King would recede from his Crown, and lay down his Arms, only capitulating for a restitution to himself, to his Friends and Allies, of their Moneys and Estates to support their banishment. Now several inclining

Brutus's
publick
zeal. their banishment. Now several inclining
to this motion, and *Collatinus* favouring
the request, *Brutus*, a Person of a fierce and

τραχὺς ὁ προκαλέσας there proclaiming his fellow Consul to be a Traitor, in granting Subsidies to Tyranny and Ammunition for a War, when twere cruelty to relieve the necessities of their flight. This caus'd an Assembly of the Citizens, amongst whom the first that spake was *Gaius Minutius*, a private Man, who advis'd

advis'd *Brutus*, and perswaded the *Romans* to take care that those Goods remaining in their hands, might be employ'd against the Tyrants rather, than being remitted to the Tyrants, be return'd against themselves : Yet however 'twas the *Romans* Opinion, that whilst they enjoy'd the liberty they had sought for, not to reject Articles of Peace for the sakes of their Goods, but to throw them out after them. This regard of the Goods was the least part of *Tarquin's* design, yet the demand sounded the humours of the People, and became a preparatory to a Conspiracy ; which the Ambassadors endeavour'd through the delay of their return, under pretence of selling some of the Goods, and reserving others to be sent away, till such time as they corrupted two of the eminentest Families in *Rome*, three Senators of the *Aquilian*, and two of the *Vitellian* Family, all of them by the Mother's side being Nephews to *Collatinus* ; besides *Brutus* had a peculiar alliance to the *Vitellian* from his Marriage with their Sister, by whom he had several Children ; whereof two the *Vitellians*, whom nearness of blood and education had endear'd, each to other, decoy'd into an association of their Treason, assuring them withall, should they interest themselves in *Tarquin's* Family, and the Kings Party, they

*A Conspiracy
secretly
contriv'd
by Tar-
quin's A-
gents.*

E e would

*Memoranda
curias
et ipsa.
A horrid
confirmati-
on of Tre-
ason.*

would be freed from the dotage and austerity of their Father (whose irreconcilement to offenders they term'd austerity, and his dotage was a pretext and plea to the Tyrants for his security ; which occasioned the continuance of that surname.) When upon these inducements the Youths came to discourse the *Aquilians*, all thought it convenient to oblige themselves in a solemn and dreadful Oath, with the ceremony of *drinking the blood* of a murthered Man, and touching his entrails. To which design they resorted to the habitation of the *Aquilians*, where was an House allotted for this transaction, (as happen'd) darksome and desolate ; for the domestick *Vindicius* made no appearance, but there absconded himself, not out of design or any intelligence of the affair, but accidentally being within, and seeing with how much *haste* and *concern* they came in, was afraid to be discover'd, *μετασπειδος* but plac'd himself behind a Chest, so as he might observe their actions and over-hear their debates. The result was to kill the Consuls, and they wrote Letters to *Tarquin* advertising the same, and entrusted them in the hands of the Ambassadors, lodging then at the *Aquilians*, and were present at the Consult.

Upon their departure thence *Vindicius* crept out of his obscurity, but not understanding

standing how to manage the business, was at a stand; for to arraign the Sons before the Father *Brutus*, or the Nephews to the Uncle *Collatinus*, seem'd equally (as 'twas indeed) a scene of horrour; yet knew no private *Roman*, to whom he could entrust *secrets of such importance*, and yet could not suffer to be buried in silence, what his conscience engag'd him to reveal; and therefore address'd himself to *Valerius*, the generosity of the Man and civility inviting thereto, being a person to whom the needy had easie access, and never shut his Gates against the petitions or the indigences of a low estate: but when *Vindicius* had made a total discovery to him, his Brother *Marcus* and his own Wife being present at the relation, *Valerius* was struck with amazement, and by no means would dismiss the Discoverer, but confin'd him to his own House, and plac'd his Wife as a Guard to the Gates, sending his Brother in the interim to beset the King's Palace, and to seize, if possible, their Letters, and secure the domesticks; whilst he, with his constant attendance of Clients and Friends, and a great retinue of Servants, repair'd to the House of the *Aquilians*, who were absent from home, and forcing an entrance through the Gates, happen'd upon the Letters then lying in the Lodgings of the Ambassadors;

εχθρον
της απο-
ρίαν τη-
λαχούντων.

Valerius
made ac-
quainted
with the
Conspiracy.

His prudence
managery
thereof.

whilst things were in this motion, the *Aquilians* made an hasty return, and mustering themselves about the Gate, endeavour'd a recovery of the Letters: The other Party made a resistance, who casting their Gowns about their Necks, and using violence one to the other, at length hurried them with great difficulty through the Streets into the *Forum*. The like engagement happen'd about the King's Palace, where *Marcus* seiz'd some other Letters, design'd to be convey'd away in the Goods, and laying hands on what Servants his industry could find, drag'd them also into the *Forum*. When the Consuls had quieted the tumult, *Vindicius* was brought out by the orders of *Valerius*, and the Accusation read, the Letters were opened, to which the Traitors could make no Plea. Most stood mute and dejected as sensible of the Villany, yet some, to ingratiate themselves with *Brutus*, mention'd Banishment, and the tears of *Collatinus*, attended with *Valerius*'s silence,

The impartial proceeding of Brutus.

gave some hopes of mercy: But *Brutus* calling his two Sons by their names, "Canst thou (said he) O *Titus*, nor thou *Valerius* make no defence against the Indictment? the question being thrice propos'd, and no return made to *Brutus*, he turn'd himself to the Lictors, and cry'd, "What remains is your duty. The Lictors presently seiz'd the Youths,

His severe Sentence.

Youths, and stripping them of their Gar-
ments, bound their hands behind them,
and tore their Bodies with scourges, which
seem'd too tragical a Scene to be gaz'd up-
on ; yet 'tis observable, *Brutus* made it the
object of his choice, and would not suffer
the least glance of pity to soften and smooth
his wonted rigour and austerity, but reso-
lutely made his eyes attend the execution,
even whilst the Lictors, extending them on
the ground, with an Ax cut off their Heads;
then he departed, committing the rest to
the judgment of his Colleague. This was
an action equally as capable of commenda-
tion as reproof, for either the greatness of
his vertue rais'd him above the impressions
of sorrow, or the extravagancy of his mi-
sery took away all sense of it : but neither
seem'd common or the result of his huma-
nity, but either proceeded from a *divine*
efficacy, or a *brutish stupidity*, yet 'tis more
reasonable we award it to his honour, lest
through the weakness of the Judge his ver-
tue should hazard a disrepute, for in the
Romans opinion *Brutus* labour'd more to
reduce and settle the Government, than
Romulus to found the City.

Upon Brutus's departure out of the Forum, a consternation, horrour and silence for some time posses'd all, that reflected on what was done: besides, the easiness and

forbearance of *Collatinus* gave confidence to the *Aquilians* to request some time to answer their Charge, and that *Vindicius* their Servant should be remitted into their hands, and no longer harbour'd amongst their Accusers. The Consul seem'd inclin'd to their motion, and thereupon dissolv'd the Assembly; but *Valerius* would not suffer *Vindicius* to depart, who was encircled with the Rabble, nor the people to withdraw without censuring the Traitors; at length laid violent hands upon the *Aquilii*, and calling *Brutus* to his assistance, exclaim'd against the unreasonable proceedings of *Collatinus*, to impose upon his Colleague the necessity of taking away the lives of his own Sons, and yet have thoughts of gratifying some Women with the lives of Traitors and Enemies to their Country. *Collatinus* at this being displeas'd, and commanding *Vindicius* to be taken away, the Lictors dispers'd the Rabble, and seiz'd their Man, and beat off whosoever endeavour'd a rescue. But *Valerius*'s Friends withstood the seizure, and the people cry'd out for *Brutus*, who returning, and silence being made, assur'd them he had shew'd himself a severe animadverter upon his own Sons, and therefore left the rest to the suffrages of the free Citizens, allowing every man to speak his pleasure, and gain the people over to his persuasion.

*avaynluw
mabqovi-
as.*

perswasion. But there was no need of Ora-
tory, for it being referr'd to the Vote, they
were return'd condemn'd by all the suffrages,
and were accordingly beheaded.

When *Collatinus* saw his alliance to the Kings had render'd him suspicious, and his name had made him odious to the People, who abominated the name of *Tarquin*, and perceiving himself as an offence to every one, relinquish'd his Charge, and departed the City. The Court being call'd, in his room *Valerius* honourably obtain'd the Consulship as a just reward of his good will; of which he thought *Vindicius* deserv'd a share, whom he made Denizon of Rome, and gave him the privilege of voting in what Tribe soever he was pleas'd to be enroll'd: (Which liberty in voting, *Appius* a long time after, out of a popular design, granted to other Libertines) and from this *Vindicius*, a perfect Manumission, is call'd to this day *Vindicta*. This done, the Goods of the Kings are expos'd to plunder, and the Palace to ruine; The pleasant ^{Aperius m-}*Campus Martius*, which *Tarquin* enjoy'd, <sup>dis rō nū dī-
sov. II</sup> was devoted to the service of that God; but happening to be harvest Season, and the Sheaves yet lodging on the Ground, they thought it not reasonable to commit them to the Flail, or unsanctifie them with any use, and therefore carrying them to the

*The dedication of
the Campus Martius.*

River side, and Trees withal, that were cut down, they cast all into the Water, and dedicated a sluggish and fruitless Soil to the Deity. Now these thrown in one upon another, and closing together, the stream did not bear them far, but being carry'd down together, and sinking to the bottom, there gain'd a settlement, and finding no farther a conveyance, but there stop'd and interwoven one with another, the stream work'd the mass into a firmness, and wash'd down mud, which settling there, became an accession of matter as well as cement to the rubbish ; insomuch that the violence of the Waves could not remove it, but forc'd all things to it, and then with a gentle pressure clos'd it together, which by reason of their bulk and solidity gaining new subsidies, and the neighbouring space receiving what the stream brought down, at last grew into an Island, call'd *Insula Sacra*, lying by the City, adorn'd with the Temples of the Gods and consecrated Walks, call'd in the

μίσθιον δύον γέραπον. Latin Tongue *inter duos pontes*. Though some say, this happened not at the dedication of Tarquin's Field, but in after times, when *Tarquinia*, a Vestal Priestess, gave the adjacent Field to the publick, and for that obtain'd great honours, as amongst the rest, that of all Women her Testimony alone should find credit and acceptance, and had the

the liberty to marry, but refus'd it, and thus some write it happened.

But *Tarquin*, despairing of a return to his Kingdom by the Conspiracy, found a kind reception amongst the *Tuscans*, who with a great Army lead him out into the Field; the Consuls headed the *Romans* against them, and made their rendezvouse in the holy places, the one call'd the *Arfian* Grove, the other the *Aesuvian* Meadow: When they came to charge, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the Roman Consul, not incidentally encountering each other, but out of a malicious rage (the one to avenge Tyranny and enmity to his Country, the other his Banishment) set Spurs to their Horses, and ingaging with fury instead of reason, grew unmindful of their own security, and so fell together in the combat. This so dreadful an onset hardly entr'd a more favourable end; but both Armies doing and receiving equal damage were diverted by a Storm. Now *Valerius* was much concern'd, not knowing the success of the day; and seeing his Men as well dismayed at the sight of their own dead, as reviv'd at the loss of the Enemy, so un-discriminable alike had the greatness of the slaughter made the appearance, that each side upon a review of their remains adjudg'd to themselves rather a defeat, than from the estimate

*συνίδειν
εἰς Χεῖρας.
The single
engagement
of Aruns
with Brutus.*

*ἐπίδειν
οὐδεὶς
ταῦτα.*

estimate each made of his Enemy, a Victory. The night being come, (and such as one may presume must follow such a Battel) and the Armies laid to rest, they write the *Grove shooke* and murmured a Voice, saying, that the *Tuscans* lost one Man more than the *Romans*, which was esteem'd as an Oracle, and the *Romans* presently entertain'd it with shouts and expressions of joy: whilst the *Tuscans* through fear and amazement deserted their Tents, and were much dispers'd; The *Romans* falling upon the remains, which amounted to nigh Five thousand, took them Prisoners, and plunder'd the Camp: When they numbred the dead, they found on the *Tuscans* side Eleven thousand and three hundred, exceeding their own loss but by one Man. This Fight happen'd upon the last of *February*, and *Valerius* triumph'd upon the Conquest, being the first Consul that adorn'd it with a Chariot, which sight as it appear'd magnificent, so 'twas receiv'd with a veneration free from envy, or (what some suggest) an offence to the Spectators; neither did it favour of emulation or ambition, when 'twas deriv'd to after Ages. The People applauded likewise the honours he did to his Colleague, in setting forth his Obsequies with a Funeral Oration, which so pleas'd the *Romans*, and found so good a reception, that it became customary

The Tuscans vanquished by the Romans.

customary for the best men to celebrate the Funerals of great men with Speeches in their commendation, and their antiquity is affirm'd to be greater than that of *Greece*, unless according to the Orator *Anaximenes*'s account we acknowledge *Solon* to be Author.

Yet some part of *Valerius*'s behaviour Valerius gave an offence and disgust to the people, because after *Brutus*, whom they esteem'd ^{why dis-} _{esteemed by} *the people*. as Patriot of their Liberty had not presum'd to Lord it without a Colleague, but still assum'd one and then another to him in his Commission; but *Valerius* (said they) carrying all things by his power, seem'd not a Successor to *Brutus*, having no deference to the Consulship, but an aim to *Tarquin's* Tyranny; and notwithstanding his verbal Harangues to *Brutus's* memory, yet when he was attended with all the Rods and Axes, and came from an House as stately as that he demolish'd of the Kings, those actions shew'd him an imitator of *Tarquin*; besides his dwelling House, call'd *Velia* was more magnificent, which hanging over the ^{republican} Forum, overlook'd all transactions there, ^{eov.} the access to it was hard, and the return from it difficult, but to see him come down, was a stately prospect, and equall'd the majesty of a King. But *Valerius* shew'd, how much it import'd men in power and great Offices

Offices to give admittance to truth before flattery ; for upon his Friends remonstrances, that he displeas'd the People, contend-ed not, neither resented it, but that very night sending for Carpenters, pulled down his House and levell'd it with the ground ; so that in the morning the people flocking thither saw the ruines, they lov'd and admir'd the generosity of the man, and de-plor'd the Consul's loss, who *wanting an House*, was forc'd to seek a foreign Habita-tion ; and wish'd a repair of so much beauty and magnificence, as to one to whom ma-lice had unjustly procur'd the ruine. His Friends receiv'd him, till the place the peo-ple gave him was furnish'd with an House, though less stately than his own, where now stands the Temple call'd *Vicus Pub-licus*.

He resolv'd to render the Government as well as himself, instead of terrible, familiar and pleasant to the people, and parted the Axes from the Rods, and always upon his entrance into the Assembly, with an hum-ble submission vail'd them to the people, as *restoring thereby the excellency of a Common-wealth, and this the Consuls observe to this day.* But the humility of the man, which the people thought real, was but a device, to abate their envy by this moderation ; for as much as he detracted from his liberty, so much

much he advanc'd in his power, the people still submitting with satisfaction, which they express'd by calling him *Poplicola*, i. e. *a popular man*, which name had the preheminence of the rest, and therefore in the sequel of this History we shall use no other. He gave free leave to any to sue for the Consulship, but before the admittance of a Colleague, mistrusting futurity, lest the emulation or the ignorance of him should croſs his designs, by his own authority enacted some good and noble Constitutions. *The Ordinances and Laws of Poplicola.*

First he supply'd the vacancies of the Senators, which either *Tarquin* long before put to death, or the War lately cut off; those that were registred, they write, amounted to One hundred threescore and four: afterwards he made several Laws, which added much to the peoples liberty, as one granting offenders the liberty of appealing to the people from the censure of the Consuls; a second, that made it death to usurp the magistracy without the peoples consent; a third for the relief of poor Citizens, which taking off their Taxes encourag'd their labours; another against disobedience to the Consuls, which was no less popular than the rest, and rather to the benefit of the Commonalty, than to the advantage of the Nobles; for it impos'd upon disloyalty the penalty of ten Oxen and two Sheep,

the

*Money not
much in use
amongst the
Romans.*

the price of a Sheep was ten *Oboli*, of an Ox an hundred. For the use of Money was then infrequent amongst the *Romans*, their wealth consisting in a plenty of Cattel, so

*πεκολία
ἀπὸ τῆς περι-
στον.*

that afterwards their Estates were call'd *Peculia* from *Pecus*, i. e. *Cattle*, and had upon their ancient Money engrav'd an Ox, a Sheep, or an Hog; and hence surnam'd their Sons *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, or *Caprarii*, (they calling *Caprae*, Goats, and *Porci*, Hogg's) These Laws shewed the evenness and the popularity of the giver; yet amidst this moderation he instituted one excessive punishment, for he made it lawful without accusation to take away any man's life that aspir'd to a Tyranny, and acquitted the executioner, if he produc'd evidences of the crime; for though 'twas not probable, whose designs were so great, to escape all notice, yet because 'twas possible his power might prevent judgment, which the usurpation it self would then take off, gave a licence to any to prevent the *Usurper*. He was honour'd likewise for the Law touching the Treasury, and because necessity engag'd the Citizens out of their Estates to contribute to the maintenance of Wars, and he being unwilling himself to be concern'd in the care of it, or to permit his Friends, or indeed that the publick Money should be entrusted into private hands, allotted the Temple

Temple of *Saturn* for the Treasury (in which to this day they reposite the Tribute-Money,) and granted the People the liberty of chusing two young Men as *Quæstors*, i. e. *Treasurers*, and the first were ^{ταμίας.} *P. Veturius* and *Minucius Marcus*, there being a great Sum collected, for they assesse'd ^{P. Veturius and Mi-} one hundred and thirty thousand, excusing ^{Marcus} *Orphans* and *Widows* from the payment. ^{first Quæ-} Affairs standing in this posture he admit-^{tors in}ted *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, as his ^{τοὺς καλύ-} Colleague, and gave him the precedence in ^{πέντε φά-} the Government by resigning up the *Fasces*, ^{σκην.} i. e. *Rods* to him as due to his years, which humble observance to Age was deriv'd to posterity. But within a few days *Lucretius* dy'd, and *Marcus Horatius* succeeded in that honour, and continu'd the remaining part of the year.

Now whilst *Tarquin* was making preparations in *Tuscany* for a second War against the *Romans*, 'tis said a portentous accident fell out. When *Tarquin* was King, and having not compleated the buildings of the Capitol, he designing, whether from a Divine impulse, or his own pleasure, to erect an earthen Chariot upon the top, entrusted the Workmanship to *Tuscans* of the City *Veies*, but soon after was oblig'd to retire from his Kingdom. The Work thus model'd the *Tuscans* set in a Furnace, but the Clay

Clay shew'd not those passive qualities which usually attend its nature, to subside and be condens'd upon the exhalations of the moisture, but rose up and swell'd to that bulk, that being consolidated and firm, notwithstanding the removal of the head and breaking down the Walls of the Furnace, it could not be taken out without much difficulty. The Wise Men look'd upon this as a Divine prognostick of success and power to those that should enjoy it, and the *Tuscans* resolv'd not to deliver it to the *Romans* who demanded it; but answer'd that it rather belong'd to *Tarquin*, than to those that forc'd him into exile. A few days after there happen'd an Horse-race with the usual shows and Solemnities, the Chariotier with his Crown on his head softly driving his victorious Chariot out of the Ring, the Horses, upon no apparent occasion affrighted, but either out of a Divine instigation or an accidental, hurried away their driver, full speed to *Rome*, neither did his holding them in prevail, or his gentle soothings, but with violence was forc'd along, till coming to the Capitol, was there thrown by the Gate call'd *Ratumena*. This occurrence rais'd wonder and fear in the Veians, who upon this permitted a delivery of the Chariot.

Now

Now *Tarquin*, the Son of *Demaratus*, warring with the *Sabines*, avow'd the building of the Capitol, which *Tarquinius Superbus*, Grandson to the Avower, began, yet could not dedicate it, because he lost his Kingdom before 'twas finish'd; when 'twas compleated and adjusted with all its Ornaments, *Poplicola* had a great ambition to the Dedication, but the Nobility envy'd him that honour, as well as those his prudence in making Laws and Conduct in Wars entitled him to: And presuming he merited not the addition of this, they importun'd *Horatius* to sue for the Dedication; and whilst *Poplicola* was engag'd to lead the Army into the Field, voted it to *Horatius*, and accordingly conducted him to the Capitol, assuring themselves, that were *Poplicola* present, they should not have prevail'd. Yet some write, *Poplicola* was by lot destin'd against his will to the Army, the other to the Dedication; and what happen'd in the performance, seems to intimate some ground for this conjecture; for upon the Ides of *September*, which happens about the full Moon of the Month *Metazitnion*. the ^{delayed} ^{vixit} People flocking to the Capitol, and silence enjoyn'd, *Horatius* after the performance of other Ceremonies holding the Doors, according to custom pronounc'd the words of Dedication; then *Marcus* the Brother of *Po-*

Poplicola
ambitious
of dedica-
ting the
Capitol.

plicola, who had stood for some time at the Door, observing his opportunity, cry'd, "O Consul, thy Son lies dead in the Camp, which made great impressions upon the Auditory, yet in no wise discompos'd *Horatius's* ^{undaunted} _{reply to} *Marcus*, receiving only this reply, "Then cast the dead out whither you please, for I shall not admit of sorrow; and so pursu'd his Dedication. This news was not true, but *Marcus* thought the lye might avert him from his performance. This argued him a Man of an admirable constancy, whether he presently saw through the cheat, or believ'd it as true, shewing no discomposure in his passions. The same success attended the Dedication of the Second Temple: The first is said to be built by *Tarquin*, and dedicated by *Horatius*, which was burnt down in the civil Wars. The Second *Sylla* built, and dying before the Dedication, bequeath'd that honour to *Catulus*; but when this was demolish'd in the Vitellian Sedition, *Vespasian* with somewhat like success began a Third, and saw it finish'd, but liv'd not to see its ruines, which accompany'd his Death; yet surviving the Dedication of his Work, seem'd more fortunate than *Sylla*, who dy'd before his, though immediately after his Death twas consum'd by Fire. A Fourth was built by *Domitian*, and dedicated. 'Tis said *Tarquin* expended forty thousand

sand pound of Silver in the very Foundations; but the greatest treasure of any private man in *Rome* would not discharge the gilding of this Temple in our days, it amounting to above Twelve thousand Taliens: the Pillars were cut out of *Pentelick* ^{Πεντέλικης} _{σπηλαίων}. Marble, having length suitable to their thickness, and these we saw at *Athens*; but when they were cut anew at *Rome* and embellish'd, they gain'd not so much beauty, as they lost in proportion, being render'd too taper and slender. Now ^{διάκονος καὶ λαζαρέτι.} whosoever should admire the excellency of the Capitol, and afterwards survey a Gallery in *Domitian's Palace*, or an Hall, Bath, or the Apartments of his Concubines, what *Epicarmus* wrote of a profuse Man

'Οὐ φιλάρθρως τὸ γένος ἔχεις νόον, χαίρεις διδοῦς.

*Thou art not gen'rous, thy bounty's vice within,
Thy gifts thou lavish'st, and glory'st in the sin.*

he might readily apply it to *Domitian*, *Thou art neither pious or noble, only pleasing thy self in the itch of Building, and a desire like Midas of converting all into Gold and pretious Stones*: And thus much for this matter.

Tarquin, after the great Battel wherein he lost his Son in an engagement with Brutus, fled to Clusius, and sought aid from *Clara Porsenna*, then the most powerful Prince of Italy, and a Person of singular candour and generosity, who assur'd him his assistance, immedately sending his commands to Rome, that they should receive Tarquin as their King; and upon the Romans refusal proclaim'd War, and having signified the time and place where he intended his assault, approach'd with a great Army. Now Poplicola in his absence was chosen Consul a second time, and Titus Lucretius his Colleague; but returning to Rome with intentions of appearing more generous than Porsenna, built the City *Sigliuria* when Porsenna lay encamp'd in the neighbourhood; and walling it at great expence, there plac'd a Colony of seven hundred men, as being little concern'd at the War: but Porsenna making a sharp assault, oblig'd the defendants to retire to Rome, who had almost in their entrance admitted the Enemy into the City, had not Poplicola by falling out at the Gate prevented them, and joining Battel by Tiber side, oppos'd the Enemy, that presid'd on with their multitude; but at last sinking under his honourable wounds, was carried out of the Fight. The same fortune fell upon Lucretius, so that the Romans

mans being dismay'd retreated into the City for their security, and *Rome* was in great hazard of being taken, the Enemy making good their pursuit to the Wooden Bridge, where *Cocles Horatius*, seconded by two <sup>The nob'e
atchieve-
ment of
Cocles-
Horatius.</sup> of the eminentest men in *Rome*, *Her-
menius* and *Lucretius*, made head against them. (This name he obtain'd from the loss of one of his Eyes in the Wars; or as others write, from the depression of his Nose, which causing a seeming *coalition of* <sup>οὐρανὸς οὐ-
τεχθῶν.</sup> *his eye-brows*, made both eyes appear but as one, and hence they intending to call him *Cyclops*, by a *cadency of the Tongue*, ^{γενῆσις} usually call'd him *Cocles*.) This *Cocles* kept <sup>οἰκτηνός
οἰκτηνός-
ους.</sup> the Bridge, and repuls'd the Enemy, till his own party broke it down behind, and then in his Armour cast himself into the River, and swam to the hither side, being wounded upon his Hip with a *Tuscan* Spear. *Poplicola* admiring his Courage invited the *Romans* every one to gratifie him with a present of as much Provisions as he spent in a day, and afterwards gave him as much Land as he could encircle with a Plough in one day; besides erected a brazen Statue to his honour in the Temple of *Vulcan*, as a requital for the lameness he contracted from his wound. But *Porsenna* laying close siege to the City, and a Pestilence raging amongst the *Romans*, besides a new Army

of the *Tuscans* making incursions into the Country ; *Poplicola* a third time chosen *ἀπεριῶν*. Consul design'd without sallying out to make his descent, however privately stealing out upon the *Tuscans*, put them to flight, and slew five thousand. Now the History of *Mutius* is variously deliver'd, but this relation shall follow the common reception ; he was a Person endow'd with every virtue, but most eminent in warfare, and resolving to kill *Porsenna*, attir'd himself in *Tuscan* Habit, and using the Language came to the Camp, and approaching the seat where the King sat amongst his Nobles, but not of a certainty knowing the King, and yet fearful to enquire, drew out his Sword, and stab'd him, that amongst all made the likeliest appearance of being a King : *Mutius* was taken in the act, and whilst under examination, a Pan of Fire was brought to the King, who intended to sacrifice ; *Mutius* thrust his right hand into the flame, and whilst it burnt, beheld *Porsenna* with a steadfast and undaunted countenance ; *Porsenna* admiring the man, dismiss'd him, and return'd his Sword, reaching it from his Seat ;

"Mutius receiv'd it in his left hand, which occasion'd the name of *Scævola*, i. e. left-handed ; and said, I have overcome the terrors of *Porsenna*, yet am vanquish'd by his generosity, and gratitude obliges me

The hazardous attempt of Mutius.

" me to discover what no punishment could
" extort; and assur'd him then, that three
hundred *Romans*, all of the same resoluti-
on, lurk'd about his Camp only waiting
for an opportunity, and that he by lot de-
stin'd to the enterprise, was not troubled
he miscarry'd in the success, because he was
so good a Man, and deserv'd rather to be a
Friend to the *Romans* than an Enemy. To
this *Porsenna* gave credit, and thereupon ex-
press'd an inclination to a truce, not, I pre-
sume, so much out of fear of the hundred
Romans, as an admiration of the *Roman*
courage. All other Writers call this Man
Mutius Scævola, yet *Athenodorus Sandon*, in
a Book wrote to *Ottavia Cæsar's Sister*, a-
vers he was also call'd *Opifionus*. *Poplicola*
not so much esteeming *Porsenna's* enmity
dangerous to *Rome* as his friendship and al-
liance serviceable, was induc'd to refer the
Controversie betwixt him and *Tarquin* to
his Arbitration, and several times engag'd
to prove *Tarquin* the worst of Men, and
justly depriv'd of his Kingdom: But *Tarquin*
proudly reply'd, he would admit no Judge,
much less *Porsenna*, that had revolted from
his Confederacy: *Porsenna* resenting this *Porsenna*
answer, and mistrusting the equity of his ^{makes} *peace with*
cause, together with the solicitations of his *the Ro-*
Son *Aruns*, who was earnest for the *Ro-*^{mans.}
man interest, made a Peace on these condi-
tions,

tions, that they should resign the Field, they had taken from the *Tuscans*, and restore all Prisoners, and receive their Fugitives : To confirm the Peace the *Romans* gave as Hostages ten of the Nobility's Sons, and as many Daughters, amongst which was *Valeria* the Daughter of *Poplicola*.

Upon these assurances *Porsenna*, ceas'd from all acts of hostility, and the Virgins went down to the River to bathe, at that part where the crookedness of the Bank embracing the Waters rendred it pleasant and serene ; and seeing no guard or any coming or going over, were encouraged to swim over, notwithstanding the depth and the violence of the stream. Some affirm that one of them, by name *Clælia*, passing over on Horse-back, perswaded the rest to follow ; but upon their safe arrival coming to *Poplicola*, he neither admir'd or apprev'd their return, but was concern'd, lest he should appear less faithful than *Porsenna*, and this boldness in this Virgins should argue treachery in the *Romans* ; so that apprehending them, he sent them back to *Porsenna*. But *Tarquin's* Men having intelligence thereof, laid a strong ambuscade on the other side for those that conducted them ; who skirmishing together, *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*, rush'd through the Enemy and fled, and with the assistance of

of three of her retinue made good her escape; whilst the rest were dangerously hedg'd in by the Souldiers. *Aruns, Porsenna's Son*, upon advertency thereof, hasten'd to their rescue, and putting the Enemy to flight, deliver'd the *Romans*. When *Porsenna* saw the Virgins return'd, and demanding, who was the author and abettor of the design, and understanding *Clælia* to be the Person, look'd upon her with a countenance equally cheerful and compassionate, and commanding one of his Horses to be brought sumptuously adorn'd, made her the Present. This as an evidence they produce, who affirm that only *Clælia* pass'd the River on Horseback; those who deny it, esteem'd it only as the honour the *Tuscans* did to her courage, whose Effigies on Horseback stands in the *Via Sacra* as it leads to the *Palatium*, which some say is the Statue of *Clælia*, others of *Valeria*. *Porsenna* thus reconcil'd to the *Romans*, oblig'd them with a fresh instance of his generosity, and commanded his Souldiers to depart the Camp only with their Arms, and leaving their Tents wealthy and furnish'd with Provisions, he assigned them to the *Romans*. Whence it became customary upon publick sale of Goods, to cry *Porsenna's first*, thereby to eternize the memory of his kindness; and erected his brazen Image by the Senate-house,

Marcus
victorius
over the
Sabines.

house, plain but of antique fashion. Afterwards the *Sabines* making incursions upon the *Romans*, *M. Valerius*, Brother to *Poplicola*, was made Consul, and with him *Posthumius Tubertus*. *Marcus* through the management of affairs by the conduct and authority of *Poplicola* obtain'd two great Victories, in the latter of which, he slew Thirteen thousand *Sabines* without the loss of one *Roman*, and was honour'd with an House built in the *Palatium* at the publick charge, as an accession to his triumphs; and whereas the Doors of other Houses open'd inward into the Houses, they made this to open outward into the Street, as intimating by this privilege, that he was always ready for the publick service. The same fashion in their Doors the *Greeks* (they say) had of old, which appears from their Comedies, wherein those that are going out make a noise at the Door within, to give notice to those that pass by or stand near the Door, that the opening the Door into the Street might occasion no surprisal.

The year after *Poplicola* was made Consul the fourth time, when a Confederacy of the *Sabines* and *Latins* threatned a War, besides a superstitious fear o'er-run the City, arising from the Womens miscarriages of mutilous births, and no conception waiting its due time: *Poplicola* upon the *Sibyll's* instructions

εξεγανον
εναπηγε.

instrutions sacrificing to *Pluto*, and restoring certain Games dedicated to *Apollo*, rendered the City cheerful, with the assurances he had in the Gods, and then prepar'd against the menaces of men. Now there was one *Appius Clausus* amongst the *Sabines*, a man of a great estate and strength of Body, <sup>Appius
Clausus de-</sup> but most eminent for the excellency of his <sup>Sabine
cause.</sup> Vertue, and the depth of his Reason, yet could not (what is usually the fate of great men) escape the envy of others, which was much occasioned from his detracting the War, and seeming to promote the *Roman* interest, as designing to bring them under their Yoke; and knowing how welcome these reports would be receiv'd by the gaping multitude, and how offensive they would be to the Army and the abettors of the War, was afraid to stand a Trial; but having a considerable assistance of Friends and Allies, rais'd a tumult amongst the *Sabines*, which delay'd the War. Neither was *Poplicola* wanting, not only to understand the grounds of the Sedition, but to promote and encrease it, and accordingly dispatch'd *Emissaries* with these instructions to *Clausus*, That *Poplicola* was assur'd of ^{his} ^{inde} *goodness* and *justice*, and thought it even in bad men unworthy, especially in him though injur'd to seek revenge upon his *Citizens*; yet if he pleas'd for his own security

security to leave his enemies and come to *Rome*, he should be receiv'd both in publick and private, with that honour his vertue deserv'd, or their grandeur requir'd. *Appius* seriously weighing those things, which necessity propos'd as advantageous, and advising with his Friends, and they inviting others to the same perswasion, came to *Rome* with five thousand Families with their Wives and Children, being a people of a quiet and sedate temper: *Poplicola* advertis'd of their approach, receiv'd them with all the kind offices of a Friend, and enfranchis'd them into the Community, allotting to every one two Acres of Land by the River of *Aniene*, but to *Clausus* twenty five Acres, and admitted him into the Senate, and made him an associate in the Government, which he so prudently manag'd, that it hasten'd his preferment, and so improv'd his greatness, that his posterity the *Claudii* became inferior to no Family in *Rome*.

*Clausus
chosen Se-
nator.*

*atque ut
et relati-
ori.*

The departure of these Men rendred things quiet amongst the *Sabines*, yet the chief of the Community would not suffer them to settle into a peace, but resented that *Clausus*, what his presence could not achieve, by turning Renegade should obstruct their revenge upon the *Romans* for all their injuries; and coming with a great Army, sate down before *Fidenæ*, and plac'd

an

an Ambuscade of Two thousand Men near *Rome*, in the obscure and hollow places, with a design that some few Horsemen, as soon as day, should make incursions, commanding them upon their approach to the Town, so to retreat, as to draw the enemy into the ambush; but *Poplicola* soon advertis'd of these designs by the *Renegado's*, dispos'd his Forces to their respective charges, and *Posthumius Balbus* his Son-in-Law coming with three thousand Men in the evening was ordered to take the Hills, under which the ambush lay, there to observe their motions; and the Colleague *Lucretius*, attended with a Body of light and lusty Men, was commanded with his Horse to assail the van-curriers of the *Sabines*; whilst he with another Army encompass'd the Enemy, and, accidentally a thick mist falling, *Posthumius* early in the morning with shouts from the Hills assai'd the Ambuscade: *Lucretius* charg'd the light Horse, and *Poplicola* besieg'd the Tents; so that things asur'd a defeat and ruine to the *Sabines*; The Sabines totally vanquished. and those that made no resistance the *Romans* kill'd in their flight, all their hopes expiring in their own destruction; for each Army of the *Sabines* presuming safety in the other, both ceas'd to fight or keep their ground; the one quitting the Camp to retire to the Ambuscade, the Ambuscade flying

ing to the Camp, met those in as great need of assistance, to whom they fled in hopes of a security ; but the nearness of the City *Fidene* became a preservation to several of the *Sabines*, especially to those that upon the sacking deserted the Camp, but those that could not recover the City, either perish'd in the Field, or were taken Prisoners. This Victory the *Romans* (though usually ascribing such success to some God) attributed to the conduct of one Captain, and 'twas observ'd to be heard amongst the Soldiers, that *Poplicola* had deliver'd their enemies lame and blind, *only not in Chains*, to be dispatch'd by the Sword : besides from the Spoil and Prisoners a great wealth accrû'd to the *Romans*. But *Poplicola* having ended his Triumph, and bequeathing the City to the prudence of the succeeding Consuls, soon died, whose life was led with the goodness and vertue mortality would admit : The people as not having gratify'd his deserts, when alive, but as in gratitude still oblig'd, decreed him a publick Interment, every one contributing his *Quadrans* towards the charge ; besides the Women by a general consent in private mourned a whole year with a sincere veneration to his memory ; he was buried by the peoples desire in the Street call'd *Velia*, where his posterity had the honour of burial, but now none

*μύρον & ξεγ.
Στίψεις.*

*Poplicola
dies.*

*τελεσθεῖσας
επον.*

none of the Family are there interred, but the Body is carried thither, and one places a burning Torch under it, and then immediately takes it away, as an attestation of the deceased's priviledge, and his receding from his honour, and then the Body is remov'd.

THE
COMPARISON
OF
POPLICOLA with SOLON.

NOW there appears somewhat singular in this parallel, and what has not occur'd in any other of the Lives; as the one to be the imitator of the other, and the other a witness of his vertue; so that upon the survey of Solon's Sentence to *Cræsus* applauding *Tellus*'s happiness, it seems more applicable to *Poplicola*; for *Tellus*, whose virtuous life and dying well had gain'd him the name of the happiest Man, yet was never celebrated in Solon's Poems for a good man,

man, or that his Children or his Government deserv'd his memorial : But *Poplicola*, as his Life was the most eminent amongst the *Romans*, as well for the greatness of his vertue as his power, so at his Death was accounted amongst the greatest Families, and even in our days the *Poplicolæ*, *Mesalæ*, and *Valerii* for six hundred years acknowledge him as the fountain of their honour. Besides, *Tellus*, though keeping his order and fighting like a valiant Captain, yet was slain by his Enemies ; but *Poplicola* (what was more honourable) slew his Enemies, and saw his Country victorious through his conduct ; and his honours and triumphs procur'd him (what was *Solon's* ambition) an happy end ; and what as a reproof to *Mimnermus* touching the continuance of Man's life he exclaimed,

Μηδὲ ψωι ἀκλαυτος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἀλγεα καὶ σοναχέα.

*A silent unlamented death I hate,
Let sighs of Friends and tears attend my Fate.*

Attested his happiness ; his Death did not only draw tears from his Friends and Acquaintance, but became the object of an universal wish and sorrow through the whole City, for the very Women deplored this

*Poplico-
la's posteri-
ty of long
contnu-
ance.*

this loss as of a Son, Brother, or universal Father. *Solon* said,

Χρήματα δ' οὐδείσιν μὲν ἔχειν, αὖτες δὲ πατέος
Οὐκ ἔδειλειν.

An Estate I love, but not unjustly got,

lest vengeance should pursue the injustice : But *Poplicola's* Riches were not only the product of his justice, but his distributions of them to the poor were the discretion of his Charity, so that if *Solon* was reputed the wisest Man, we must allow *Poplicola* to be the happiest, for what *Solon* wish'd *Poplicola* in reality what *Solon* wish'd to be. for as the greatest and most perfect good, that *Poplicola* in its proper use enjoy'd to his Death : So that *Poplicola* became as well an honour to *Solon*, as *Solon* to him, in transmitting the exactest method of modelling a Commonwealth, and stripping the Consulship of its pride, made it easie and pleasant to the People ; he transplanted several Laws into *Rome*, as his empowering the People to elect their Officers, and allowing Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People, as *Solon*, did to the Judges. *Poplicola* did not indeed create a new Senate, as *Solon* did, but augmented the old with almost a double number. He erected the Office of *Questors* ; lest the Consul, if

G g good

good, should not have leisure otherwise to attend greater matters ; or if bad, should have any temptation to injustice, having the Government and Treasury in his hands.

μισθίεγον. The aversion to tyranny was greater in *Poplicola*, for whosoever endeavour'd an usurpation, his punishment by *Solon's Law* commenc'd only upon conviction : But *Poplicola* made it Death before a Trial. And though *Solon* justly gloried, that when things without the least aversion of the Citizens were presented to his Sovereignty, he refus'd the offer ; yet *Poplicola* merited not less, who finding a tyrannical Government, made it more popular by not using the Authority he might. But we must allow, that *Solon* knew it before *Poplicola* : for ;

Δῆμος ὁ δ' ἀραιὸς σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἔποιο,
Μήτε λιαν ἀρετέσ, μήτε πελόμενος.

*An even hand will an even state maintain,
Holding not too loose, nor yet too strait a
(rein.)*

*διχεών
ανεστις.*

But the remission of debts was more peculiar to *Solon*, which much strengthened the Citizens liberty ; for the Law intending a level little avail'd, if the debts of the poor prevented that equality ; and where they seem'd

seem'd chiefly to exercise their liberty, as in debates, elections, and administrations of their Offices, they were over-rul'd by the Rich, yielding themselves to their disposal.

But 'tis more extraordinary, that Rebellion attending usually this remission of debts, yet he apply'd this as a desperate remedy, and seasonably allay'd their heats by his virtue and esteem, which was above the infamy or detraction, that could arise from this act. The beginning of his Government was more glorious, for he was himself an original, and followed no example, and without the aid of an Allie did great things by his own conduct: yet the death of *Poplicola* was more happy and admired; for *Solon* saw the dissolution of his own Commonwealth; but *Poplicola* preserv'd his inviolably till the Civil Wars. *Solon* leaving his Laws engraven in Wood, but destitute of a defender, departed *Athens*; whilst *Poplicola* remaining in his magistracy establish'd the Government: and though *Solon* was sensible of *Pisistratus's* ambition, yet was not able to suppress it, but sunk under the new establish'd Tyranny; whereas *Poplicola* utterly subverted and dissolved a potent Monarchy, strongly settled by long continuance; being nothing inferiour to *Solon* in virtue and disposition, and with all favourably assisted with power and for-

tune to accomplish his vertuous designs : and as for martial exploits, *Daimachus Platæensis* does not so much as attribute the Wars against the *Megarenses* to *Solon*, as is

Poplicola before intimated : But *Poplicola* in great encounters, both as a private Souldier and Commander, obtain'd the victory. As to

Poplicola in many respects preferable to *Solon*.
the managery of publick affairs, *Solon* in a mimical way, and by a counterfeit shew of madness sollicited the enterprise of *Salamis* ; whereas *Poplicola* in the very beginning, nothing daunted at the greatest enterprises, oppos'd *Tarquin*, detected the Conspiracy ; and being principally concern'd both in preventing the escape, and afterwards punishing the Traitors ; he not only excluded the Tyrants from the City, but frustrated likewise all their expectations from thence: who, as in matters of conflict, tumult or opposition, he behaved himself with courage and resolution ; so in peaceable debates where persuasion and condescension were requisite, he was more to be commended ; *Porsenna* a terrible and invincible Enemy by his means being reconciled and made a Friend. Some may perhaps object, that *Solon* recovered *Salamis* for the *Athenians*, which they had lost ; whereas *Poplicola* receded from part of what the *Romans* were presently possess'd of : but judgment is to be made of actions according to the

the times in which they were perform'd: The conduct of a wise Politician is ever suited to the present posture of affairs, who often by forgoing a part saves the whole, and by yielding in a small matter secures a greater; as *Poplicola*, who by restoring what the *Romans* had lately usurped, saved their undoubted patrimony, and moreover procured the Stores of the Enemy for them, who were very much straitned to secure their City: For permitting the decision of the Controversie to his Adversary, he not only got the Victory, but what likewise he would willingly have given to have overcome; *Porsenna* putting an end to the War, and leaving them all the provision of his Camp, through a perswasion of the vertue and gallant disposition of the *Romans*, which the Consul had impress'd upon him.

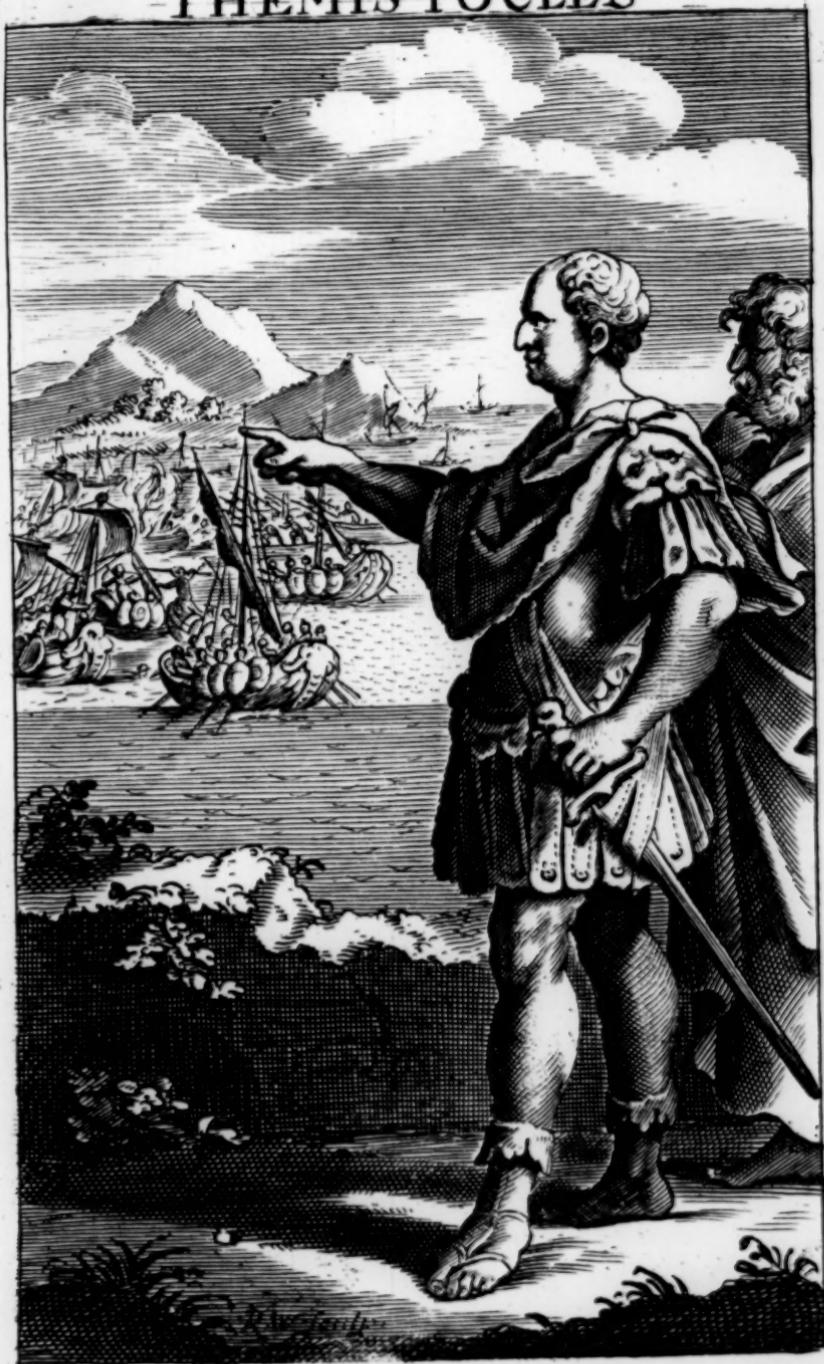
THE
L I F E
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THEMISTOCLES
THE
ATHENIAN.

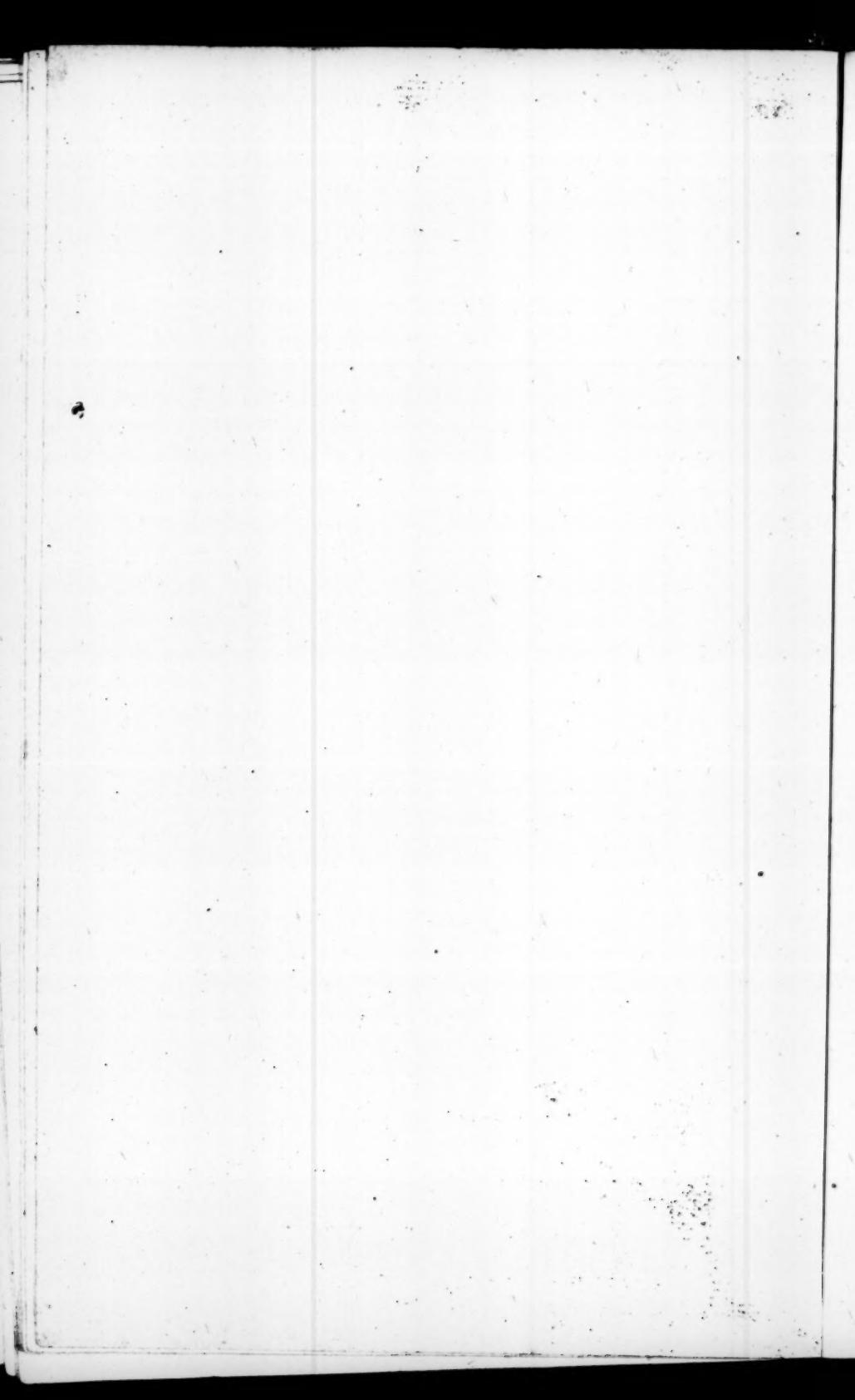
Translated out of the Greek,
By *Edward Brown, M. D.*

THE obscure Family of *Themistocles* gave some beginning to his honour, and made his glory shine the brighter. His Father *Nevcles* was none of the most splendid of *Athens*, but of the Division of *Phrear*, and of the Line of *Leontes*; and by his Mother's side, as it is reported, he was illegitimate.

I am

THEMISTOCLES





*I am not of the noble Grecian Race,
I'm poor Abrotanon and born in Thrace :
Yet 'mong the Greeks my fame shall never cease,
For them I brought forth great Themistocles.*

Yet Phanias writes that the Mother of *Themistocles* was not of *Thracia* but of *Caria*, and that her name Was not *Abrotanon* but *Euterpe*: And *Neanthes* adds further, that she was of the City of *Halicarnassus* in *Carria*: Upon which Consideration, when the Strangers, and those that were but of the half blood, or had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were to perform their Exercise at *Cynosarges* (a wraſtling place without the Gates dedicated to *Hercules*, who was also under ſome illegitimacy, and was not one of the great immortal Gods, but had a mortal Woman for his Mother) *Themisto-*
Themisto-
cles's poli-
cy to enno-
ble his
Birth. 43
cles perſwaded divers of the young Noble-men to accompany him, to anoint and exercise themselves together at *Cynosarges*; in doing which, he ſeemed with ſome ingenuity to take away the diſtinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger, and between those of the whole and those of the half blood of *Athens*. However it is certain that he was related to the House of *Licomedes*, for *Simonides* reports that he rebuilt the Chappel of *Phlyes* belonging to that Fa-

mily, and beautified it with Pictures and other Ornaments, after it had been burnt by the *Perians*.

It is confess'd by all, that from his youth he was of an impetuous nature, full of spirit, apprehensive, and of a good understanding, ever resolving to undertaking great actions and manage publick affairs. The vacations and times of recreations from his studies, he spent not in play or in idleness, as other youths, but would be always inventing or putting in order some Oration or Declamation, the subject of which was generally the excusing or accusing his Companions; so that his Master would often say to him, Boy, thou canst never be any thing mean or indifferent, but must at some time or other prove either a most heroick glorious blessing, or a most destructive plague and ruine to thy Country. He received very slowly and negligently such instructions as were given him to improve his manners and behaviour, or to make him skilful in any pleasure, or to teach him a gentle or graceful deportment; but whatever was delivered to him to improve him in prudence, or in the management of publick affairs, he would apprehend it immediately, and understand it beyond one of his years, for in such things he confided in his own natural parts: And therefore afterwards in discourses

discourses of Humanity, the liberal Sciences, and gentile Education, being derided by those who thought themselves well skilled therein, he was forced to defend himself somewhat arrogantly, saying, I understand not how to touch a Lute or play upon a Harp, but if a small, mean, obscure City were committed to my charge, I know well how to make it considerable, great and glorious. Yet notwithstanding this, *Stesimbrotus* says, that *Themistocles* was a hearer of *Anaxagoras*, and that he studied natural Philosophy under *Melissus*; but he must needs err in the time, for *Melissus* was Commander of the *Samians*, when *Pericles* made War against *Samos*, but *Themistocles*, was much elder than *Pericles*, whereas *Anaxagoras* was very conversant with him. They are therefore rather to be credited, who report, that *Themistocles* was an earnest follower of *Mnesiphilas*, the *Pbreamian*, who was neither Orator nor natural Philosopher, but a Professor of that which was then called Wisdom, or a prudence exercised in ordering publick concerns, and an accurate understanding and judgment in Affairs of State; which profession being begun by *Solon* was preserved successively as a Sect of Philosophy; but those who came afterwards, and mixed it with pleadings and disputes in Law, and transferred the practical

cal part of it to a mere art of speaking, and an exercise of words and terms, were generally call'd Sophisters. However *Themistocles*, when he entred upon affairs of State, applied himself to *Mnesiphilas*.

In the first motions of his youth he was not regular nor well poised, drawing the lines of his affairs according to his own natural fancy, without reason or instruction; and made great alterations in his designs on the one hand and on the other; and very often determined for the worst, as he afterwards confess'd, saying, Ragged Colts make the best Horses, when it comes to pass that they are well taught and managed. But those who upon this account do erroneously raise reports of his being disinherited by his Father, and that his Mother died for grief of her Son's lewdness, do certainly most falsely calumniate him; and there are divers who relate to the contrary, how that to deterr him from dealing in the publick, and to let him see how the vulgar behave themselves towards their Leaders when they have at last no further use of them, his Father shewed him the old Galleys as they lay neglected and forsaken upon the Seashore without any care taken of them: Yet it is evident, that early, even in his younger years, *Themistocles* did most violently and with great eagerness apply himself to understand

understand how to govern and to win glory and honour, in which being earnest to be the first, from the very beginning he by this rashness presently created to himself the hatred of the most powerful and chiefest in the City, but more especially of *Aristides* the Son of *Lysimachus*, who always opposed him ; and yet all this great enmity between them seem'd to have but a light beginning, for they both were in love with the fair *Stesilaus* of *Teios*, as *Ariston* the Philosopher relates : and from that time they perpetually contended with their Parties and Factions in the Commonwealth, not but that the disagreeableness of their lives and manners may seem to have increased the difference ; for *Aristides* was of a mild nature, good and fair conditioned, and governing all things for the best with justice and security ; not for glory, or the favour of the people. He was often forced to oppose *Themistocles*, and to stand up against the encrease of his authority, who stirred up the people to many attempts and brought in great innovations ; for it is said that *Themistocles* was so transported with the thoughts of glory, and so inflamed with the desire of performing great actions, that although he were but young when the Battel of *Marathon* was fought against the *Persians*, and the warlike conduct of their General

Aristides
opposes
Themistocles.

neral *Miltiades* was every where noised about, he was taken notice of to be thoughtful, and to go meditating many things alone by himself, to pass the nights without sleep, and to refuse his accustomed meetings and recreations, and to those who wondred at this change in his manner of living, and demanded the reason of it, he gave this answer, that the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not let him sleep ; and when others were of opinion that the Battel of *Marathon* would put an end to the War, *Themistocles* thought that it was but the beginning of far greater Conflicts, for which he prepared himself continually, for the good of all *Greece*, and exercised the City as one foreseeing at a great distance what was likely to

Themisto-
cles advises
that the re-
venue of the
Silver Mine
at Laurion
should be
employed in
building
Ships.

come to pass. And first of all, the *Athenians* being accustomed to distribute the Revenue proceeding from the Silver Mine at *Laurion*; he was the only Man that durst propose to the people, that this distribution should cease, and that with the Money Ships should be built to make War against the *Eginetes*, who were the most flourishing people in all *Greece*, and by the number of their Ships held the Sovereignty of the Sea : and to this *Themistocles* did easily perswade them, not by stirring them up against *Xerxes* or the *Persians*, who were at a great distance, and their coming was very uncertain, and at that

that time not much to be feared ; but by seasonably making use of the emulation, hatred and anger of the *Athenians* against the *Æginetes*, he induced them to these preparations. So that with this Money an hundred Ships were built, with which they afterwards fought against *Xerxes* ; and in a short time he caused them to descend, and drew the City toward the Sea, with this advantage, that those who on Land were not a fit match for their Neighbours, with their Ships might be able to free themselves from the *Perians*, and become Rulers of *Greece*. So that, as *Plato* says, instead of making them a standing *Militia*, and stout Souldiers that would not give way in fight, he turned them into Mariners and Sea-men tossed about the Sea, and gave occasion for this reproach against him, that he took away from the *Athenians* the Spear and the Shield, and bound them to the Bank and the Oar. These things he performed getting the better of *Miltiades*, who opposed him, as *Stesimbrotus* relates : but whether or no he hereby injured the purity and exact rule of Government, let those who are more judicious determine. But that the deliverance of *Greece* came at that time from the Sea, and that those Gallies established the City of *Athens* again after it was destroyed ; to omit others, *Xerxes* himself is a sufficient

ent witness, who though his Land Forces were still entire, after he had been worsted at Sea, fled away ; and thought himself no ways able to encounter them. And it seems to me, that he left *Mardonius* behind him, not out of any hopes he could have to bring them into subjection, but to hinder the *Greeks* from pursuing him.

Themistocles is said to be very intent upon heaping up Riches, that he might be the more liberal ; (for loving to sacrifice often, and to be splendid in his entertainment of Strangers, he stood in need of a plentiful Revenue) yet he is accused by others to be parsimonious and sordid to that degree, that he would sell the provision which was presented him. He desired *Philides*, who was a breeder of Horses, to give him a Colt, and when he refused it, he threatned him that in a short time he would turn his House into a Horse of Wood, like the *Trojan Horse*, intimating thereby that he would stir up strife and contests between him and those of his own Family and Relations.

He went beyond all men in ambition and desire of honour, and when he was but young and not known in the world, he desired *Epicles* of *Hermiona*, who had a very good hand at the Lute, and was much esteemed by the *Athenians*, to come and practise at his House, being ambitious and coveting

coveting to be popular, and desirous that many should enquire after him and frequent his Company. When he came to the *Olympian Games*, and was so splendid in his Equipage and Entertainments, in his rich Tents and Furniture, that he strove to out-do *Cimon*, he displeased the *Greeks*, who thought that such magnificence might be allow'd of in one who was a young Gentleman of a great Family ; but a great piece of insolence in him to carry himself thus high who was an upstart and of no considerable Fortune. He set out a Tragedy at his own expence, and wan the Prize with his Tragedians, in those times when they pursued those Sports with great eagerness and ambition, and set up a Table of his Victory with this inscription ; " *Themistocles* He affects popularity." the Phrearian was at the charge of it, " *Pbrynicus* made it, *Adymantus* was Ar-
" chon. He was well beloved by the common People, and he would salute every particular Citizen by his own name, and always shew himself a just Judge of Controversies between private Men ; and he said to *Simonides*, a Poet of *Chios*, who desired something of him, when he was Commander of the Army, that was not reasonable, *Simonides*, you would be no good Poet if you should go contrary to the due Measures and Rules of Poetry, nor should I
be

be a good Magistrate, if for favour or affection I should go contrary to the Law. And at another time laughing at *Simonides* he told him, that he was a Man of little judgment to speak against the *Corinthians* who were inhabitants of a great and beautiful City, and to have his own Picture drawn so often, having such an ill Face.

He causes Aristides to be banished.

When he came to be great and had won the favour of the People, he stirred up a party against *Aristides* that expelled him, and banished him out of the City by their publick Votes. When the King of *Perſia* was coming down into *Greece*, and the *Athenians* were in consultation who should be their General, and many withdrew themselves of their own accord, being terrified with the greatness of the danger ; there was one *Epicydes* an Oratour, Son to *Euphemides*, a Man who was powerful in speech and of an eloquent Tongue, but of a faint Heart and a narrow Soul, a mere slave to Riches ; this Man was desirous of the Command, and was look'd upon to be in a fair way to carry it by the number of Votes ; but *Themistocles* fearing that, if the Government should fall into such a Man's hands, all would be lost, he bought out *Epicydes* ; and for a good sum of Money caused him to desist from his pretensions.

When

When the of King *Perſia* ſent Meffengers into *Greece*, with a Greek Interpreter, to demand Water and Earth as an acknowledgement of their ſubjection and obedience to him, *Themiftocles* by the confeent of the People feiz'd upon the Interpreter and put him to Death, for preeuming to publish the Orders and Decrees of the King of *Perſia* in the *Grecian Language*; and for this he was highly honoured by the *Greeks*, as alſo for what he did to *Arthmius* of *Zelea*, who for bringing Gold from the King of *Perſia* to corrupt the *Grecians*, was by an Order from *Themiftocles* degraded from all honour, and registred in the Book of infamy, he, and his Children, and his Posterity: But that which moft of all redounded to his honour, was that he put an end to all the Civil Wars of *Greece*, compoſ'd their diſſerences, and perſwaded them to lay aside all enmity during the War with the *Perſians*; and in this great Work *Chileus* the Arcadian was very affiſting to him.

Having taken upon himſelf the Command of the *Athenian Forces*, he imme‐
diately endeavoured to perſwade the Citizens to leave the City, and to embark them‐
ſelves upon their Galleys, and to meet with the *Perſians* at a great diſtance from *Greece*: *He leads an Army into Thessaly.*
But many being againſt this, he led a great Army joined with the *Lacedæmonians* into

Tempe; that in so narrow a Valley, bounded on each side with high Rocks, he might the more easily defend the *Thessalians*, who had not as yet declar'd for the King: But when they return'd without performing any thing, and that it was known that not only the *Thessalians*, but all as far as *Bœotia* had yielded to *Xerxes*; then the *Athenians* more willingly hearkned to the advice of *Themistocles* to fight by Sea, and sent him with a Fleet to guard the Straits of *Artemisium*.

When the Grecian Fleets were joined, the *Greeks* would have the *Lacædemonians* to command, and *Eurybiades* to be their Admiral; but the *Athenians*, who surpassed all the rest in number of Vessels, would not condescend to come after any other, till *Themistocles*, perceiving the danger of this contest, yielded the command to *Eurybiades*, and got the *Athenians* to submit, extenuating the loss, by perswading them, that if in this War they behaved themselves like Men, the *Grecians* for the future of their own accord would restore to them the chief command: And by this moderation of his it is evident, that he was the great Author of the safety of *Greece*; and carried on the *Athenians* to that height of glory, that they surpassed their Enemies in valour, and their friends and confederates in kindness and civility.

As

As soon as the *Perſian* Armada arrived ^{The great} at *Aphetae*, *Eurybiades* was astoniſhed to ^{Perſian} *Fleet comes* ſee ſuch a vast number of Veffels before ^{Fleet comes} in ſight. him, and being informed that two hundred more ſail'd about behind the Iſland of *Sciathus*, he immediately determined to retire further into *Greece*, and to ſail back into ſome part of *Peloponnesus*, where their Land Army and their Fleet might join, for he looked upon the *Perſian* Forces to be al-together invincible by Sea. But the *Eubeans*, fearing that the *Greeks* would forſake them, and leave them to the mercy of the Enemy, they ſent *Pelagon* to diſcourse pri-vately with *Themiftocles*, and with him a good ſum of Money, which he accepted, and gave it to *Eurybiades*, as *Herodotus* re-ports. In this affair none opposed him ſo much as *Architeles* Captain of a Galley cal-led the *Powerful*; who having not Money to supply his Sea-men made haſte to ſet ſail, but *Themiftocles* ſo incenſed the *Athenians* againſt him, that they ſet upon him and leſt him not ſo muſh as his Supper; at which *Architeles* was muſh ſurpris'd, and took it very ill, but *Themiftocles* immediately ſent him in a Chest a Service of all Proviſions, and at the bottom of it a Talent of Silver, deſiring him to ſup for the preſent, and to provide for his Sea-men and Soldiers for the future; if not, he would report it a-

mongst the *Athenians*, that he had received Money from the Enemy, thus *Phanias the Lesban* relates it.

Though the Fights between the *Grecians* and the *Perians* in the Straits of *Eubæa* were not so great in the whole as to make a final decision or determination of the War; yet the experience which the *Greeks* learnt hereby was of great advantage: for thus they effectually understood, that neither the number of Ships, their riches and ornaments, nor their boasting shouts, nor barbarous Songs of Victory, were any ways terrible to men that dare fight, and were resolved to come hand to hand with their Enemies; these things they were to despise, and to come up close and grapple with their foes. This the Poet *Pindarus* took notice of, and hath not ill expressed it, speaking of the Fight at *Artemisium*.

*To glorious Liberty Athens did this day,
By bold attempts a deep foundation lay.*

For boldness is the beginning of victory. *Artemisium* is above the City of *Estiæa* upon the coast of *Eubæa* which lies open to the North, but over against it is *Olizon*, and a Country which formerly was under *Philocetes*, where there is a small Temple of *Diana* of the East, and Trees about it, which

which are encompassed again with Pillars of white Stone; and if you rub them with your hand they send forth both the Smell and colour of Saffron: in one of the Pillars these Verses are engraved,

*Within these Seas, the brave Athenians shew
Their matchless valour, when they overthrew
The numerous Nations that from Asia spring,
And the great Navy of the Persian King:
And trophies won by such a glorious fate
To bright Diana here did consecrate.*

There is a place still to be seen upon this Shoar, where in the middle of a great heap of Sand, they take out from the bottom a dark powder like Ashes, or something that hath passed the Fire; and here they think the Shipwrecks and Bodies of the dead were burnt. But on the other side, as soon as news came from Thermopylae to Artemisium informing them that King Leonidas was slain, and that Xerxes had made himself master of all the passages by Land, they returned back into Greece, the Athenians having the command of the Rere, the place of honour and danger, as those who by their former actions had testified both their skill and courage in War.

As Themistocles sail'd along the coast he took notice of the Harbours and fit places

He tempts the Ionians to forsake the Persians. for the enemies Ships to retire into, and engraved large Letters in such Stones as he found there by chance, as also in others which he set up on purpose near to the landing places, or where they were to water. In these Inscriptions he required the *Ionians* to forsake the *Medes*, if it were possible, and come over to the *Greeks*, who were their ancient Founders and Progenitors, and were now hazarding all for their liberties ; but if this could not be done, then to be a hindrance and disturbance to the *Persians* in all their Fights. He hoped that these writings would prevail with the *Ionians* to revolt or raise some great disorders, by causing them to be much suspected by the *Persians*.

Now though *Xerxes* had already passed through *Doris*, and invaded the Country of *Phocis*, and had burnt and destroyed the Cities of the *Phocians*, yet the *Greeks* sent them no relief ; and though the *Athenians* earnestly desired them to oppose the *Persians* in *Bœotia*, before they could come into *Attica*, as they themselves had given assistance to the *Greeks* by Sea at *Artemisium*, yet the *Grecians* gave no ear to their request, being wholly intent upon *peloponnesus*, and resolved to gather all their Forces together within the *Isthmus*, and to build a Wall from Sea to Sea in that strait neck of Land,

Land, which parts the Saronick Bay from the Gulf of *Corinth*; so that the *Athenians* were enraged to see themselves thus betrayed, and at the same time afflicted and dejected at their being forsaken by the *Greeks*: To fight alone against such a numerous Army was to no purpose, and this only expedient was left them for the present, to leave their City, and betake themselves to their Ships; which the People were very unwilling to hearken to, imagining that it would signifie little to regard their own safety, or to desire victory, when they had once forsaken the Temples of their Gods, and exposed the Tombs and Monuments of their Ancestors to the fury of their Enemies. *Themistocles* being at a loss, and not able to draw the People over to his opinion by any humane reason, he set his machines on work, as in a Play, and brought in his Divine Revelations, wonderful Signs, Prodigies, Oracles, and mystical answers of the Gods. The Dragon of *Minerva*, kept in the inward part of the Temple near to her Statue, served him for a Prodigy; for *Themistocles* having gained the Priests, they gave it out to the People, that the Dragon refused to eat, that the Offerings, which were set before it were found untouched, that at last it disappeared, that the Goddess had left the City, and taken her flight before them

towards the Sea. He often repeated to them the Oracle which bad them trust to Walls of Wood, shewing them that Walls of Wood could signifie nothing else but Ships, and that the Island of *Salamine* was not to be termed miserable or unhappy, but *Apollo* had given it the name of Divine, for that it should be one day very fortunate to the *Greeks*: At length his opinion prevail'd, and he obtain'd a Decree, that the City should be recommended to the protection of *Minerva* the Tute-
lary Goddess of the *Athenians*, that they who were of Age to bear Arms should embark, and that all possible care should be taken to save the Children, the Women, and the Slaves.

The Athenians send away their Families to Træzena. This Decree being confirmed, most of the *Athenians* removed their Parents, Wives and Children to *Træzena*, where they were received very courteously, and the *Træzenians* made an Order of Council, that they should be maintained at the publick charge, distributing daily two *Oboli* to every one, gave leave to the Children to gather Fruit where they pleased, and paid the School-masters who instructed them. This Order was made when *Nicagoras* was Register.

There was no publick treasure at that time in *Athens*: But the Senate of *Areopagus* (as *Aristotle* says,) distributed to every one that was listed eight Drachms; which was

was a great help to the setting out of the Fleet; but *Clidemus* ascribes this to a stratagem of *Themistocles*; who when the *Athenians* went down to the Haven of *Piræa*, said, that the shield wherein the Head of *Medusa* was engraven, was taken away from the Statue of *Minerva*; and he being employed to search for it, and ransacking in all places, found among their Goods great sums of Money, which he brought back for the use of the publick, and with this the Souldiers and Sea-men were well provided for their Voyage.

When the whole City of *Athens* were going on Board it afforded a spectacle worthy <sup>The Ath-
nians em-
bark.</sup> of pity and admiration: For who would not have commiserated those who were to leave their Country, and at the same time admired their courage and resolution, to see them send away their Fathers and Children before them, and not be moved with the cries and tears, and last embracings of their ancient Parents and nearest Relations, when they passed over into the Island! but that which moved compassion most of all, was, that many old Men by reason of their great Age were left behind; and even the tame domestick Animals moved some pity, running about the Town, clocking, mewing, houling, as desirous to be carried along with their Masters that had nourished them: Among

mong which it is reported that *Xantippus* the Father of *Pericles* had a Dog that would not endure to stay behind, but leaped into the Sea, and swam along by the Galley's side, till he came to the Island of *Salamine*, where he fainted away and died, and that part of the Island in which he was buried is still called the Dog's Grave.

Themistocles recalls Aristides from banishment.

Among the great actions of *Themistocles*, the return of *Aristides* was not the least; for before the War he was oppressed by a Faction stirred up by *Themistocles*, and suffered Banishment; but now perceiving that the People regretted the absence of this great Man, and fearing that he might go over to the *Perians* to revenge himself, and thereby ruin the affairs of *Greece*, *Themistocles* proposed a Decree, that those who were banished for a time, might return again to give what assistance they could to the *Grecians*, both by their counsel and valour, with the rest of the *Athenians*.

Eurybiades by reason of the greatness of *Sparta* was Admiral of the *Grecian* Fleet, but yet was saint-hearted in time of danger, and willing to weigh Anchor and set sail for the Gulf of *Corinth*, near which the Land Army lay encamped, but *Themistocles* violently opposed him, upon which happened many remarkable passages; and when *Eurybiades* to blame his impatience told him,

him, that at the *Olympian Games* they that rise up before the rest, are lashed; *Themistocles* replied, and they that are left behind are never crowned. *Eurybiades* lifting up his Staff as if he were going to strike, *Themistocles* minding nothing but the interest of *Greece*, cry'd, Strike if you will, but hear what I say; *Eurybiades* wondring much at his moderation, desired him to speak, and *Themistocles* hereby brought him to a better understanding of his affairs; but one who stood by him told him that it did not become those who had neither City nor House, nor any thing left to lose, to perswade others to relinquish their habitations and forsake their Countries; to which *Themistocles* gave this reply, We have indeed left our Houses and our Walls, base Fellow, not thinking it fit to become Slaves for the sake of those things that have no Life nor Soul, and yet our City is the greatest of all *Greece*, as consisting of two hundred Galleys which are here to defend you if you please; but if you run away and betray us as you did once before, the *Greeks* shall soon perceive that the *Athenians* will possess as fair a Country, and as large and free a City as that already lost. These expressions of *Themistocles* made *Eurybiades* suspect, that if he retreated, the *Athenians* would fall off from him. When one of *Eretria* began to oppose him,

he

he laid, Have you any thing to say of War,
 * Teusis, that are like an * Ink-Fish? you have a
 Loligo, Sword but no Heart. Some say that while
 Calamar pescado. Themistocles was discoursing of these things
 Calamaro, upon the Deck, there was an Owl seen fly-
 a Sleeve, ing to the right hand of the Fleet, which
 Calamary, or Ink-Fish. came and sate upon the top of the Mast, this
 It casts out happy Omen so far disposed the Greeks to
 a yellow follow his advice, that they presently pre-
 Ink. pared to fight; yet when the Enemies
 It is an Fleet was arrived at the Haven of Phaleris
 exanguious upon the Coast of Attica, and with the
 cartilagi- number of their Ships had shadowed all
 nous Fish, the Shore; and when they saw the King
 having no himself in person come down with his Land
 blood, it is Army to the Sea side, with those multi-
 thought to tudes, and all his Forces united; then the
 have no Heart; and it is said good Counsel of Themistocles soon vanish-
 it is said to have a Sword, be- ed, and the Peloponnesians cast their eyes
 cause it. hath a Car- tilage in it, again towards the Isthmus, and took it ve-
 aCar- ed, and the Peloponnesians cast their eyes
 tilage in it, which ex- aily re- sembles the
 blade of a Rapier.
 Themistocles soon vanished, and the Peloponnesians cast their eyes again towards the Isthmus, and took it very ill if any one spake against their returning home, and resolving to depart that night, the Pilots had order what course to steer.

The stratagem of Themistocles to force the Greeks to fight. Themistocles being highly concerned that the Grecians should retire, and lose the advantage of the narrow Seas and strait Pas-
 fages, and slip home every one to his own City, considered with himself and contri-
 cled that stratagem, that was carried on by Sicinus. This Sicinus was a Persian Cap-
 tive,

tive, but a great lover of *Themistocles*, and Tutor to his Children: upon this occasion *Themistocles* sent him privately to *Xerxes*, commanding him to tell the King that the Admiral of the *Athenians* having espoused his interest, had sent early to inform him, that the *Greeks* were ready to make their escape, and that he counselled him to hinder their flight, to set upon them while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their Land Army; and hereby he might destroy all their Forces by Sea. *Xerxes* was very joyful at this message, and received it as from one who wished all things prosperous to him; and therefore immediately issued out instructions to the Commanders of his Ships, that they should presently set out two hundred Sail, to compass all the Islands, and enclose all the Straits and Passages, that none of the *Greeks* might escape; and to follow with the rest of their Fleet at better leisure. This being done, *Aristides* the Son of *Lysimachus* was the first man that perceived it, and went to *Themistocles* into his Cabbin; not out of any peculiar Friendship, for he had been formerly banished by his means, as hath been related, but to inform him how they were encompassed by their enemies. *Themistocles* knowing the generosity of *Aristides*, and being much taken with his Visit:

at

at that time, imparted to him all that he had transacted by *Sicinus*, and intreated him, that having great authority among the Greeks, he would now make use of it in joyning with him to induce them to stay, and fight their Enemies in those narrow Seas. *Aristides* applauded *Themistocles*, and went to the other Commanders and Captains of the Galleys, and encouraged them to engage; yet they did not perfectly assent to him, till a Galley of *Tenedos* which revolted from the *Perians*, whereof *Panætius* was Commander, came into their Fleet, and confirmed the news that all the Straits and Passages were beset, and then their rage and fury as well as their necessity provoked them all to fight.

Xerxes
places him-
self conven-
iently to
see the
Sea-fight.

As soon as it was day *Xerxes* placed himself on high to view his Fleet, and how it was set in order. *Phanodemus*, says he, sate upon a Promontory above the Temple of *Hercules*, where the Coast of *Attica* is separated from the Island by a narrow Channel; but *Acestodorus* writes, that it was in the confines of *Megara*, upon those Hills which are called the Horns, where he sate in a Chariot of Gold, with many Secretaries about him to describe all that was done in the Fight.

When *Themistocles* was about to sacrifice upon the Admiral Galley, there were three
very

very beautiful Captives brought to him, well dressed and gloriously adorned with rich Vests and Gold, said to be the Children of *Antarctus* and *Sandance* Sister to *Xerxes*; as soon as the Prophet *Euphrantides* saw them, and observed that at the same time the Fire blazed out from the Offerings, and cast forth a more than ordinary bright Flame, and that one sneezed to the right, which portended some fortunate event, he took *Themistocles* by the hand, and ordered that the three Children should be consecrated and purified for Sacrifice, and offered up as a Vow for Victory to *Bacchus* the Devourer; for hereby the Greeks should not only save themselves, but also obtain Victory. *Themistocles* was much disturbed at this strange and terrible Prophecy; but the common People, who in the most difficult conflicts, and greatest exigencies, hope for relief by absurd and extravagant means, rather than by any reasonable way, calling upon *Bacchus* with one voice, led the Captives to the Altar, and compelled him to perform the Sacrifice, as the Prophet had commanded. This is reported by *Phanias* the Lesbian a great Philosopher and Historian. As to the number of the Enemies Ships, the Poet *Aeschylus* writes in a Tragedy called the *Perians*, That to his own knowledge *Xerxes had a thousand Ships, of which two hundred*

Three Children sacrificed before the Fight.

hundred and seven were extraordinary good Sailers. The Athenians had a hundred and eighty; in every Ship eighteen Men fought upon the Deck, four of which were Archers, and the rest well armed.

As *Themistocles* had possessed the most advantageous place, so with no less consideration he chose the best time of fighting; for he would not set the Sterns of his Galleys against the *Perians*, nor begin the Fight till the time of day was come, when there constantly rises a blustering Wind from without the Bay, which brings in with it a great Sea, and makes rough Water in the Channel. This was no inconvenience to the *Grecian* Ships, which were low built and strong, but so far hurtful to the *Perians*, which had high Sterns and lofty Decks, were heavy, and could not easily tack, nor feel the Rudder, that it overset them, or laid their sides bare to the *Grecians*, who fiercely assaulted them, strictly obeying the orders of *Themistocles*, who well understood what was most for their advantage: And when *Ariamenes* Admiral to *Xerxes*, a good Man, and by far the bravest and worthiest of the King's Brothers, made towards *Themistocles*, and having a great Ship, threw Darts and shot forth Arrows, as from the Walls of a Castle; *Amenias* the Decelian, and *Sosicles* the Peadian, who sailed in the

Ariame-
nes Admi-
ral to
Xerxes.

same

ame Vessel bore in and attacked him, and both Ships meeting Stem to Stem and striking together, their sharp Stems armed with Brass, pierced through one anothers Ships, so that they were fastned together ; when *Ariamenes* attempting to board them, *Amenius* and *Soficles* ran at him with their Pikes and thrust him into the Sea, his Body as it floated amongst other Shipwrecks was known by *Artemisia* and carried to *Xerxes*. It is reported that in the middle of the Fight a great Flame shined bright in the Air above the City of *Eleusis*, and that Sounds and Voices were heard through all the plain of *Thriae* as far as the Sea, sounding like a number of Men that were going to celebrate the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, and that a mist seemed to rise from the place from whence this sound came, and passing forward fell upon the Galleys. Others affirmed that they saw Apparitions and Spirits in the shape of armed Men, which reached out their hands from the Island of *Aegina* towards the Grecian Galleys, and were like the *Eacides*, whose assistance they had implored in their Prayers before the Fight. The first Man that took a Ship was *Lycomedes* the Athenian, Captain of a Galley, who cut down the ensigns of honour, and dedicated them to *Apollo* crowned with Lawrel. And as the Persians fought

fought in a narrow Arm of the Sea, and could bring but part of their Fleet to fight, they fell foul of one another, and the Greeks hereby equalled them in strength, fought with them till the evening, forced them back, and obtained so clear and celebrated a Victory, as *Simonides* observes, that neither Greek nor any other Nation, ever by Sea performed such glorious service.

Xerxes attempts to stop up the Sea.

After this Sea-fight *Xerxes* being enraged at his ill fortune, attempted, by casting great heaps of Earth and Stones into the Sea, to stop up the Chanel and to make a Dam, upon which he might lead his Land Forces over into the Island of *Salamine*.

Themistocles being desirous to know the opinion of *Aristides*, told him, that he intended to set sail for the *Hellespont*, to break the Bridge of Ships, whereby he might hinder the retreat of *Xerxes*, and keep *Asia* within *Europe*; but *Aristides* being troubled at his design, gave this reply, We have hitherto fought with an Enemy who hath regarded little else but his pleasure and luxury, but if we shut him up within *Greece*, and drive him to necessity, he that is Lord of such great Forces, will no longer sit quietly with an *Umbrella* of Gold over his Head, looking upon the Fight for his pleasure, but in such a strait will attempt all things; he will be resolute and appear

*Or Canopy
of State.*

appear himself in person upon all occasions, he will soon correct his errors, and supply what he has formerly omitted through remissness; and will be better advised in all things. Therefore it is no ways our interest to take away the Bridge that is already made, but rather to build another if it were possible; that he might make his retreat with the more expedition. To which *Themistocles* answered, if this be requisite, we must immediately use all diligence, art and industry, to rid our selves of him as soon as may be: and to this purpose he found out among the Captives one of the King of *Per-*
fa's Eunuchs named *Arnaces*; whom he sent to the King, to inform him, that the *Greeks* being now victorious by Sea, had decreed to sail to the *Hellespont*, where the Ships were fastned together, and destroy the Bridge; but that *Themistocles* being passionately concerned for the King, revealed this to him, that he might hasten towards the *Asiatick Seas*, and pass over into his own Dominions: And in the mean he would cause delays, and hinder the Confederates from pursuing him. *Xerxes* no sooner heard this, but being ver-
ry much terrified, retreated out of *Greece* with all speed. The prudent conduct of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, and the advan-
tageous management of this affair, was af-
terwards

Xerxes
retreats.

terwards more fully understood at the Battle of *Platæa*; where *Mardonius* with a very small portion of the Forces of *Xerxes* put the Greeks in danger of losing all.

The Aeginetans perform good service.

Herodotus writes that of all the Cities of Greece *Aegina* performed the best service in the War; in which also all men yielded to *Themistocles*, though some, out of envy, did it unwillingly; and when they returned to the entrance of *Peloponnesus*, where the Soldiers delivered their Suffrages by laying a Stone upon the Altar, to determine who was most worthy, every one gave the first Vote for himself and the second for *Themistocles*. The *Lacedæmonians* carried him with them to *Sparta*; where giving the rewards of Valour to *Eurybiades*, and of Wisdom and Conduct to *Themistocles*, they crowned him with Olive, gave him precedence, presented him with the richest Coach in the City, and sent three hundred young Men to accompany him to the Confines of their Country; and at the next *Olympian Games*, when *Themistocles* entered the place where those Exercises were performed, the Spectators took no further notice of those who strove for Mastery, but spent the whole day in looking upon him, shewing him to the Strangers, admiring him, and applauding him by clapping their hands, and all other expressions of joy; which

which so delighted him, that he confessed to his Friends, that he then reaped the fruit of all his labours for the Greeks: He was in his own nature a great lover of honour, as is evident from those things which are recorded of him. When he was chosen Admiral by the *Athenians*, he ended no business fully, publick, nor private, but deferred all till the day they were to set sail, that dispatching much business together, and having to do with all sorts of Men, he might appear great and able to perform all things. Viewing the dead Bodies cast up by the Sea, he perceived Collars and Chains of Gold about them, yet passed on, only shewing them to a Friend that followed him, saying, Take you these things, for you are not *Themistocles*. He said to *Antiphates*, a young Nobleman who had formerly behaved himself haughtily towards him, but now in his glory obsequiously waited upon him; Young man, we are in the right, and now we do both as we should do. He said that the *Athenians* did not honour him, or admire him, but when they were in danger they sheltred themselves under him, as they do in stormy, foul weather under a Plane-tree; and when they have fair weather again they pull off its Leaves and Fruit, and cut down its fairest Branches. A *Seriphan* telling him that

he had not obtained this honour by himself but by the greatness and splendour of his City, he replied, You speak truth, for I should never have been esteemed if I had been of *Seriphus*; nor would you have come to any thing though you had been of *Athens*. A Commander of the Army who thought he had performed considerable service for the *Athenians*, boasting and comparing his actions with those of *Themistocles*, he told him that the day after the Festival reproached the Festival, that upon her day those who were laborious and industrious refreshed themselves, but upon the Festival the sluggard and luxurious enjoyed all things; to which the Festival replied, It is true, yet if I had not been before you, you had not been at all; so if *Themistocles* had not been before you where had you been now? Laughing at his own Son, who was somewhat too bold through the indulgence and fondness of his Mother, he told him that he had the most power of any one in *Greece*; for the *Athenians* command the rest of *Greece*, I command the *Athenians*, your Mother commands me, and you command your Mother. Loving to be singular in all things, when he had Land to sell, he ordered the Cryer to give notice that there were good Neighbours near it. Of two who made love to his

Daughter

Daughter he preferred the Vertuous before the Rich, saying, he desired a Man without Riches rather than Riches without a Man, with many such expressions.

After these things he began to build and wall the City of *Athens*, having with Money corrupted the *Lacedæmonian Ephori*, and perswaded them not to be against it, as *Theopompus* reports; but as most relate it, by over-reaching and deceiving them, for being chosen by the Governors of *Athens* he went to *Sparta* where the *Lacedæmonians* accusing him for rebuilding the Walls of the City of *Athens*, and *Poliarchus* being sent on purpose from *Ægina* to plead against him, he denied the fact, bidding them to send to *Athens* to see whether it were so or no; by which delay he got time for the building of the Wall, and ordering the *Athenians* to seize upon those who were sent, and keep them as Hostages for him; when the *Lacedæmonians* knew the truth, they did him no hurt, but hiding their anger for the present, sent him away.

After this, considering the great advantage of good Ports, he fortified the Haven of *Piræa*, and joined the whole City to the Sea, ordering the publick affairs contrary to the judgment of the old Kings of *Athens*; who endeavouring to withdraw their Subjects from the Sea and sailing a-

bout, and to accustom them to live by planting and tilling the Earth, published the Discourse between *Minerva* and *Neptune*, and how they contended for the patronage of the *Athenians*, when *Minerva* by shewing to the Judges an Olive-Tree, was declared to be their Tutelary Goddess; but *Themistocles* did not only join the Haven of *Piræa* to the City, as the Poet *Aristophanes* observes, but he joined the City to the Haven, and the Land to the Sea, which increased the power of the People against the Nobility, the Authority coming into the hands of Watermen, Mariners and Masters of Ships; and ordered that the Pulpit built in the Market-place for publick Orations, should be placed towards the Sea, which the thirty Tyrants afterwards turned towards the Land; supposing that great power by Sea wculd give life and encouragement to a popular Government; but that Labourers and Husbandmen would be less offended at the greatness of the Nobility: But *Themistocles* had a higher opinion of Sea forces.

After the departure of *Xerxes*, when the Grecian Fleet was arrived at *Pagasa*, where they wintered, *Themistocles*, in a publick Oration to the People of *Athens*, telling them that he had a design to perform something that would be very beneficial and advantageous

vantageous to the *Athenians*, but that it was of such a nature, that it could not be made publick or communicated to the People in general : The *Athenians* ordered him to impart it to *Aristides* only ; and if he approv'd of it to put it in practice ; and when *Themistocles* had discover'd to him that his design was to burn the *Grecian Fleet* in the Haven of *Pagasa* ; *Aristides* coming out to the People, gave this report of the stratagem contrived by *Themistocles*, that there was nothing more advantageous, nor could any thing conduce more to the prosperity and grandeur of *Athens* than this, but with all that it would be the most unjust action in the World, at which the *Athenians* commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his intention, and to think no further of it.

When the *Lacedæmonians* proposed at the general Council of the *Amphyctyonians* that the Representatives of those Cities which were not in the League, nor had fought together against the *Perians*, should be excluded out of that Assembly ; *Themistocles* fearing that the *Thessalians* with those of *Thebes*, *Argos* and others, being thrown out of the Council, the *Lacedæmonians* would become wholly Masters of the Votes, and act what they pleased ; he applied himself to the Deputies of the Cities, and prevailed with the Members then sitting to alter

*He proposes
to burn the
Grecian
Fleet in the
Haven of
Pagasa.*

alter their opinions in this point, remonstrating to them that there were but one and thirty Cities which did partake of the War, and that most of these also were very small, and how intolerable it would be, if the rest of *Greece* should be excluded ; and that the General Council should come to be ruled by two or three great Cities. By this he chiefly incurred the high displeasure and hatred of the *Lacedaemonians*, who afterwards promoted *Cimon* to all honours, and placed him as an emulator and adversary to *Themistocles* in all affairs of State.

He was also burthensome to the Confederates, sailing about the Islands, and collecting Money from them. *Herodotus* says, that requiring Money of those of the Island of *Andros*, he told them, that he had brought with him two Goddesses, Perswasion and Force ; and they answered him that they had also two great Goddesses which prohibited them from giving him any Money ; Poverty and Impossibility. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet reprehends him somewhat bitterly for being wrought upon by Money to let those who were banished return, and for betraying one who was his Guest and Friend. The Verses are these :

*You may the honour of Pausanias raise,
Leutychides, or else Xantippus praise :*

Of

Of Aristides I'll display the fame,
 The best man e're from mighty Athens came.
 The false dark deeds of base Themistocles
 Can never the divine Latona please:
 His Friend and Guest Timocreon, for gain,
 A prisoner here he basely doth detain.
 To get three Talents some he does recall,
 Banishes, murthers others, laughs at all;
 While with his Bags well fill'd he may carouse,
 And in the Isthmus keep a publick House.
 Yet there doth such cold entertainment give
 His Guests oft wish him not an hour to live.

But after the sentence and banishment of
Themistocles *Timocreon* reviles him more ex-
 cessively and more reproachfully, in a Po-
 em which begins thus:

Muses, convey the Echo of my Verse,
And what I write continually rehearse,
'Tis requisite that this you should disperse,
All over Greece, and through the Universe.

It is reported that when it was put to the question whether *Timocreon* should be bani-
 shed for siding with the *Perians*, *Themisto-
 cles* gave his Vote against him, and when
Themistocles was accused for treating with
 the *Medes*, *Timocreon* made these upon
 him.

Timo-

Timocreon now is not the only man
Hath sworn allegiance to the Persian.
Others are faulty, nay the greatest fail,
He's not the only Fox without a Tail.

And when the Citizens of *Athens* began to hearken willingly to those who traduced and reproached him, he was forced to put them in mind of the great services he had performed, and asked those who were offended with him, whether they were weary with receiving benefits often from the same person, whereby he rendred himself more odious: but he more highly incensed the people, and accumulated their hatred towards him, when laying the Foundation of the Temple of *Diana*, he named it *Aristoboule* or *Diana* of the best Counsel; intimating thereby, that he had given the best counsel not only to the *Athenians* but to all *Greece*. He built this Temple near to his own House, in a place called *Melita*, where now the Hangmen carry out the Bodies of such as are executed, and throw the Halters and Cloths of those that are strangled or otherwise put to death. There is to this day a Statue of *Themistocles* in the Temple of *Diana* of the best Counsel, which represents him to be a person not only of a noble Mind, but also of a most

*He builds
a Temple.
and dedi-
cates it to
Diana.*

heroical

heroical aspect. At length the *Athenians* banished him, making use of the Exostracism to depress his great worth, eminence and authority, as they ordinarily did to all those whom they thought too powerful, or in a capacity to oppress them ; or by their greatness were become disproportionate to that equality which was thought requisite in a popular Government. For the Exostracism was instituted not so much to punish the Offender, as to mitigate and pacifie the fury of the envious, who delighted to depress those who were transcendent in eminence and glory, and by fixing this disgrace upon them, they exhaled part of the venomous rancour of their minds.

Themistocles being banished from *Athens*, while he stayed at *Argos* the Tryal of *Pausanias* happened, which gave such advantage to his Enemies, that *Leobotes* of *Argaula* Son of *Alcmaeon* indicted him of Treason ; the *Spartans* joyning with him in the accusation.

When *Pausanias* went about this treasonable design, he concealed it at first from *Themistocles*, though he were his intimate Friend, but when he saw him expelled out of the Commonwealth, and how impatiently he took his banishment, he ventured to communicate it to him, and desired his assistance, shewing him the King of *Perisia's* Letters,

The Exostracism.

Letters, and exasperating him against the *Greeks*, as a cursed and ungrateful People. However *Themistocles* immediately rejected the proposals of *Pausanias*, and wholly refused to be a party in the enterprise, though he never revealed those discourses nor discovered the Conspiracy to any man, either expecting that it would be discovered by other means, or hoping that *Pausanias* would desist from his intentions, seeing that he attempted without due consideration things that were absurd, dangerous, and that could not be put in practice.

After that *Pausanias* was put to death, Letters and Writings being found concerning this matter, which rendred *Themistocles* suspected, the *Lacedæmonians* were clamorous against him, and the envious *Athenians* accused him, when being absent from *Athens*, he made his defence by Letters, especially against the chief accusations, and wrote to the *Athenians* in answer to the malicious detractions of his enemies, urging that he who was always ambitious to govern, was never born to serve, and should be very unwilling to become a Slave, would never sell himself, and his Country to the *Perians* the mortal enemies of the *Greeks*.

Notwithstanding this the people being perswaded by his accusers, sent Officers to take him and bring him away to be tried before

before the great Council of the Greeks ; but having timely notice of it, he passed over into the Island of *Corcyra*, the chief City of the Island, having received great obligations from him, for being made Judge of a difference between them and the *Corinthians*, he determined the Controversie, ordering the *Corinthians* to lay down twenty Talents, and that the Town and Island of *Leucas* should be equally inhabitted by a Colony sent from both Cities. From thence he fled into *Epirus*, and the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* still pursuing him, he plunged himself into such intricate difficulties, that he had small hopes ever to escape ; for he fled for refuge to *Admetus* King of the *Molossians*, who having formerly made a request to the *Athenians*, *Themistocles* being then in the height of his Authority, had used him disdainfully and thrown dirt upon him ; which so enraged the King, that if he could have then laid hold of him, he would have sufficiently revenged himself ; yet in this misfortune, *Themistocles* fearing the fresh hatred of his Neighbours and fellow Citizens, more than the former displeasure of the King, threw himself at his mercy, and became an humble suppliant to *Admetus* after a peculiar manner, different from the custom of all other Countries. For holding the young Prince (who was then

*He flies in-
to the I-
sland of
Corfu.*

*H: flies to
Admetus
King of the
Molossi-
ans.*

then a Child) in his Arms, he prostrated himself before the King's Household Gods ; this being the most sacred and only manner of supplication among the *Molossians*, which was not to be refused, and some say that Queen *Phtibia* informed *Themistocles* of this way of petitioning, and placed her young Son near to him before the Figures of their domestical Deities : Others say that King *Admetus*, that he might be under a religious obligation not to deliver him up to those who persecuted him, helped him to act that part, and instructed him in this solemn Rite. At that time *Epicrates* of *Acharnia* privately conveyed his Wife and Children out of *Athens*, and sent them hither, for which afterwards *Cimon* condemned him, and put him to Death, as *Stesimbrotus* reports ; yet either forgetting this, or making *Themistocles* to be little mindful of it, he says he sailed into *Sicily*, and desired in Marriage the Daughter of *Hieron* Tyrant of *Sicily*, promising to bring the Greeks under his power ; and *Hieron* refusing him, he departed from thence into *Asia* : But this is not probable ; for *Theophrastus* writes in his History of Kings, that when *Hieron* sent Race Horses to the Olympian Games, and erected a royal Tent richly furnished, *Themistocles* made an Oration to the Greeks inciting them to pull down the Tyrant's Tent,

Tent, and not to suffer his Horses to run. *Thucydides* says, that passing over Land to the *Ægean Sea*, he took Ship at *Pidna* in the Bay of *Therme*, not being known to any one in the Ship, till being terrified to see the Vessel driven by the Winds near to *Naxus*, which was then besieged by the *Athenians*, he made himself known to the Master and Pilot; and sometimes entreating them, at other times threatening them, that if they went on shore he would accuse them, and induce the *Athenians* to believe, that they did not take him in out of ignorance, but that he had corrupted them with Money from the beginning, he compelled them to bear off, and stand out to Sea, and sail forward towards the Coast of *Asia*.

A great part of his Estate was privately conveyed away by his Friends, and sent after him by Sea into *Asia*, besides which there was discovered and confiscated to the value of fourscore Talents, as *Theophrastus* writes. *Theopompus* says an hundred; whereas *Themistocles* was never worth three Talents before he was concerned in the publick.

When he arrived at *Cuma*, and understood that all along the Coast there were many laid wait for him, and particularly *Ergoteles* and *Pythodorus* (for the Game was worth the hunting after by such as pursued

sued gain every where, the King of *Perſia* having offered by publick Proclamation Two hundred Talents to him that should take him) he fled to *Aeges* a small City of the *Aeolians*, where no one knew him but only his Host *Nicogenes*, who was the rich-est Man in *Aelia*, and well known in the Court of *Perſia*. While *Themistocles* lay hid for some days in his House, one night after a Sacrifice and a good Supper, *Olbius*, Schoolmaster to *Nicogenes's* Children, fell frantic and inspired, and cried out in Verse,

*This night instructs in mystick dreams and charms,
How t'ſe thy parts and ever conquering Arms.*

Themisto-cles's Dream. After this *Themistocles* dream'd that a Dragon coyld it ſelf up upon his Belly, and creeping up to his Neck, as ſoon as it touched his Face was turned into an Eagle; which spread its Wings over him, and took him up, and flew away with him into Countries far remote, where a golden Scep-ter appeared to him, upon which he reſted himſelf ſecurely, freed from all fear and trouble: And ſoon after *Nicogenes* made uſe of this invention to ſend him away.

The

The barbarous Nations, and amongst them the *Perians* especially, are naturally jealous, clownish, and morose towards their Women, not only to their Wives, but also to their Slaves and Concubines, which they keep so strictly that never any one sees them abroad, even at their Meals they are shut up within Doors ; and when they take a Journey, they are carried in close Coachies, or put under a little Tent or Covering shut close on all sides, and set upon a Waggon ; such a travelling Carriage being prepared for *Themistocles*, they overwhelmed him, and hid him in it, and carried him on his Journey ; and told those whom they met or discoursed with upon the Road, that they carried a young *Grecian* Lady out of *Ionia* to a Noble-man at Court.

Thucydides and *Charon of Lampachus* report, that *Xerxes* being dead, *Themistocles* discoursed with his Son : but *Ephorus*, *Deinon*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many others write, that he came to *Xerxes*, and though the chronological Tables do better agree with the relation of *Thucydides*, yet they are not exactly compiled with that undeniable certainty, that they should be thought to be built upon unshaken and immovable Foundations.

When *Themistocles* was come to the critical point, he applyed himself first to *Artabanus*.

banus, Commander of a thousand men, telling him, that he was a *Grecian*, and desired to speak with the King about important affairs, concerning which the King was extremely sollicitous; *Artabanus* answered him, Stranger, the Laws of Men are different, and some esteem one thing honourable and some another, but it is honourable for all men to observe and commend the Laws of their own Country; it is allowable for you *Grecians* to admire liberty and equality, but amongst our many excellent Laws, we account this the most glorious, to honour the King, and to worship him, as the Image of that great Deity that preserves and protects the Universe; and if you can accustom your self to our Laws, and fall down before the King and worship him, you may both see him and speak to him; but if your mind be otherwise, you must make use of others to intercede for you; for it is not the national custom here for the King to give audience to any one that doth not fall down before him: *Themistocles* hearing this, replied, *Artabanus*, I that come hither to encrease the power and glory of the King, will not only submit my self to his Laws, since it hath pleased God to raise the *Persian* Empire to this greatness, but will also cause many more to be worshippers and adorers of the King; let

let not this therefore be an impediment, why I should not communicate to his Majesty what I have to impart: *Artabanus* asking him who must we tell him that you are? for you seem to be no ordinary person; *Themistocles* answered, no man must be informed of this before the King himself. Thus *Phanias* relates it; to which *Eratosthenes* in his Treatise of Riches, adds, that by the means of a Woman of *Eretria* who was kept by *Artabanus*, he was brought acquainted with him, and obtained this favour from him.

When he was introduced to the King, and had paid his due reverence to him, he stood silent, till *Xerxes* commanding the Interpreter to ask him who he was? he replied, I am *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, banished and persecuted by the *Greeks*, I flee to thee for refuge mighty Monarch; the evils that I have done to the *Perians* are easily to be forgiven, in consideration of the many achievements accomplished for them, when I hindred the *Grecians* from pursuing the *Medes* after the fatal Battels of *Salamis* and *Platæa*; when having freed my Country and placed the *Greeks* in safety, my ambition led me on to greater enterprises; in which being successful, I gratified the far extended *Persian* Empire, and performed services acceptable to the greatest Prince on

*He is
brought be-
fore Xer-
xes.*

Earth ; since which all things having conspired to augment my present calamities, suitable to such a condition, I come hither, hoping to receive mercy from a gracious reconciled Sovereign, who hath laid aside his anger, and is no longer mindful of former evils ; humbly imploring you, that taking the *Greeks* for witnesses of the services I have done for *Perſia*, you will make use of this occasion to shew the World the nobleness of your vertue, rather than to fulfil your wrath, or satisfie your indignation, hereby you will preserve an humble suppliant ; if otherwise, you destroy a servant of the *Perſians*, and a publick enemy of the *Greeks*. Besides this, he related the manner of the Vision, which he saw at *Nicogenes's* House, and what was directed him by the Oracle of *Dodona*, where *Jupiter* commanded him to go to him that had a name like his, by which he understood, that he was sent from *Jupiter* to *Xerxes*, seeing that they had both the name of mighty Kings ; and he knew no other great sacred powers but *Jupiter*, and the *Perſian* Emperour.

The King heard him attentively, and though he admired his understanding and courage, gave him no answer at that time, but when he was with his intimate Friends, he rejoiced in his great good fortune, and esteemed

esteemed himself very happy in this, and prayed to his God, *Arimanius*, that all his Enemies might be ever of the same mind with the *Greeks*, to provoke, abuse, and expel the bravest Men amongst them. Then he sacrificed to the Gods, and presently fell to drinking, and was so well pleased, that in the night, in the middle of his sleep, he cried out for joy three times, I have *Themistocles* the Athenian.

In the morning, *Xerxes* calling together the chief of his Court, had *Themistocles* brought before him, who expected no good would come of it, especially when he saw the Guards were fiercely set against him as soon as they knew his name, and gave him ill language; and as he came forward towards the King, who was set down, and the rest kept silence, passing by *Roxane* a Commander of a thousand Men, he heard him sigh and whisper softly to him without stirring out of his place, You subtile Greek Serpent, the Kings good Genius hath brought thee hither; yet when he came into the presence, and fell down, the King saluted him, and spake to him kindly, telling him, he was now indebted to him two hundred Talents; for it was just and reasonable, that he should receive the reward which was proposed to whosoever should bring *Themistocles*; and promising much more, and

*He learnt
the Persian Lan-
guage.*

encouraging him, he commanded him to speak freely what he would concerning the affairs of *Greece*; *Themistocles* replied, that a Man's Discourse was like to a rich *Persian Carpet* variously wrought and figured, the beautiful Images and proper Figures of which are best represented when they are clearly and fairly opened; but when they are contracted and folded up, they are obscured and lost, and therefore he desired time to learn the language perfectly, in which he was to express his mind, and unfold his secret services. The King being pleased with the comparison, and bidding him take what time he would, he desired a year, in which time having learnt the *Persian Language* sufficiently, he spake with the King by himself without the help of an Interpreter: And those who were at a distance thought that he discoursed only about the affairs of *Greece*; but there happening at the same time great alterations at Court, and removals of the King's Favourites, he drew upon himself the envy of the great ones; who imagined, that he who had this great liberty might take the boldness to speak many things concerning them: For the favours shewn to other Strangers were nothing in comparison of the honours conferred on him; the King inviting him to partake of his own pastimes and recreations

ons both at home and abroad, carrying him with him a hunting; and made him his intimate so far, that he permitted him not only to come into the presence of the Queen Mother, but also to wait upon her often, and converse familiarly with her: And besides this, he heard the Discourses of the Magicians, by the King's especial command; and was instructed in the secret Philosophy and Magick of the *Perians*.

When *Dengaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*, being ordered by the King to ask whatsoever he pleased, and it should immediately be granted him, desired the Royal Diadem, and that being lifted up on high he might make his publick entrance, and be carried in state through the City of *Sardis* with the Imperial Crown of *Perisia* upon his head, after the manner of Kings; *Mithropantes*, Nephew to *Xerxes*, taking him by the hand, told him that he had no Brains for the Royal Diadem to cover; and if *Jupiter* should give him his Lightning and Thunder, he would be ne'er the more *Jupiter* for that; the King also repulsed him with scorn and anger, resolving never to be reconciled to him, but to be inexorable to all supplications on his behalf; yet *Themistocles* pacified him, and prevailed with him to forgive him: And it is reported that the succeeding Kings in whose Reigns there was

was a greater communication between the Greeks and Persians than formerly, when they invited any considerable Grecian into their Service, to encourage him, they would signify to him by Letters, that he should be as great with them as *Themistocles* was with *Xerxes*. They relate also how *Themistocles* when he was in great prosperity, and courted by many, seeing himself splendidly served at his Table, he turned to his Children and said, Children, we had been undone if we had not been undone. Most Writers say, that he had three Cities given him *Magnesia*, *Myus*, and *Lampsacus*, to maintain him in Bread, Meat and Wine. *Neanthes* of *Cyzicus* and *Phanias* add two more, the City of *Percotes* to provide him with Clothes, and *Palæcephis* with Bedding and Furniture for his House.

As he went down towards the Sea side to provide against the attempts and practices of the Greeks, a Persian whose name was *Epixyes*, Governour of the upper *Phrygia*, laid wait to kill him; having for that purpose provided a long time before a crew of Pisidian Murtherers, who were to set upon him when he came to reside in a City that is called *Lyons-head*: But *Themistocles* sleeping in the middle of the day, the Mother of the Gods appeared to him in a Dream, and said unto him, *Themistocles*, never

*The Mother
of the Gods
appears to
him.*

never come at the *Lyon's head*, for fear you fall into the Lyon's Jaws, for this advice I expect, that your Daughter *Mnesiptolema* should be my Servant. *Themistocles* was much astonished, and when he had poured forth his Prayers, and made his vows to the Goddess, he left the great Road, and taking a compass about, went another way, chan-
ging his intended stational to avoid that place, and at night took up his rest in the Fields ; but one of the Sumpter horses which carried part of the Furniture for his Tent, having fallen that day into a River, his Servants spread out the Tapestry which was wet, and hanged it up to dry it : in the mean time the *Pisidians* made towards them with their Swords drawn, and not discerning exactly by the Moon what it was that was stretched out to be dried, they thought it was the Tent of *Themistocles*, and that they should find him resting himself within it ; but when they came nigh, and lifted up the Hangings, those who watched there fell upon them and took them. *Themistocles* having escaped this great danger, was in admiration of the goodness of the Goddess that appeared to him ; and in memory of it he built a Temple in the City of *Magnesia*, which he dedicated to *Cybele Dindymene* Mother of the Gods, wherein he consecrated and devoted his

his Daughter *Mnesiptolema* unto her service.

When he came to *Sardis* he visited the Temples of the Gods, and observing at his leisure their Buildings, Ornaments, and the number of their Offerings, he saw in the Temple of the Mother of the Gods the Statue of a Virgin in Brass two Cubits high, called the Water-bringer, or she that brought the Water back again into its right Chanel. *Themistocles* had caused this to be made and set up when he was Surveyor of the Aquæducts at *Athens*, out of the Fines and Forfeitures of those, whom he had discovered to have taken away the Water, or to have turned it out of its due course, by other Pipes fitted for their private use: and whether he had some regret to see this fair Image in Captivity, and the Statue of a Grecian Virgin kept Prisoner in *Asia*; or whether he was desirous to let the Athenians see in what great credit he was with the King, and what authority he had in all the Persian affairs, he entred into discourse with the Governour of *Lydia*, to perswade him to send this Statue back to *Athens*, which so enraged the Persian Officer, that he told him he would write the King word of it: *Themistocles* being affrighted hereat, got access to his Wives and Concubines, whom he gained with Money, and by their

their means mitigated the fury of the Governor; and afterwards carried himself more reservedly and circumspectly, fearing the envy of the *Perians*; and gave over travelling about *Asia*, and lived quietly in his own House in *Magnesia*, where for a long time he passed his days in great security, as *Theopompus* writes, being courted by all, and presented with rich Gifts, and honoured equally with the greatest Persons in the *Perian Empire*; the King at that time not minding his concerns with *Greece*, being incessantly busied about the affairs of the upper Provinces.

But when *Aegypt* revolted, being assisted by the *Athenians*, and the *Grecian Galleys* roved about as far as *Cyprus* and *Cilicia*, and *Cimon* had made himself master of the Seas, the King turned his thoughts, and bending his mind chiefly to resist the *Grecians*, and to hinder their increasing power against him, raised Forces, sent out Commanders, and dispatched Messengers to *Themistocles* at *Magnesia*, to put him in mind of his promise, and to incense him and irritate him against the *Greeks*; yet this did not increase his hatred, nor exasperate him against the *Athenians*; neither was he any ways elevated with the thoughts of the honour and powerful command he was to have in this War, but either imagining that this undertaking

undertaking could not prosperously be carried on, nor the King easily compass his designs, the *Greeks* having at that time great Commanders, and amongst them *Cimon* wonderfully successful in the affairs of *Greece*; or chiefly being ashamed to fally the glory of his former great actions, and of his many Victories and Trophies, he determined to put a conclusion to his days suitable to his former great deeds, and to make an end agreeable to the whole course of his life: he sacrificed to the Gods, and invited his Friends, and having kindly entertained them, and shaked hands with them, he
He drinks
Bulls
Blood. drank Bulls Blood, as the general report goes; but some say he took poison, which dispatched him in a short time, and ended his days in the City of *Magnesia*, having lived sixty five years, most of which he had spent in the State and in the Wars, in governing of Countries and commanding of Armies. The King being informed of the cause and manner of his death, admired him more than ever, and continued to shew kindness to his Friends and Relations.

Themistocles left three Sons by *Archippa* Daughter to *Lysander* of *Alopece*; *Archeptolis*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Cleopantus*. *Plato* the Philosopher mentions the latter as a most excellent Horseman; but relates nothing else of him worthy of memory: of his

his eldest Sons *Neocles* and *Diocles*, *Neocles* died when he was young by the bite of a Horse, and *Diocles* was adopted by his Grandfather *Lysander* to be his Heir. He had many Daughters, of which *Mnesiptolema*, whom he had by a second Marriage, was Wife to *Archeptolis*, her Brother-in-law by another Mother; *Italia* was married to *Panthides* of the Island of *Scio*; *Sybaris* to *Nicomedes* the Athenian. After the Death of *Themistocles*, his Nephew *Phrasicles* set sail for *Magnesia*, and married his Daughter *Nicomachia*, receiving her from the hands of her Brothers; and brought up her Sister *Asia* the youngest of all the Children.

The *Magnesians* possess the splendid Se-
pulchre of *Themistocles*, placed in the middle
of their great Piazza, and it is not worth
the taking notice of what *Andocides* writes
to his Friends, concerning the Reliques of
Themistocles; how the *Athenians* robbed
his Tomb, and threw his Ashes into the
Air; for he feigns this to exasperate the
Nobility against the People; and there is
no Man living but knows that *Phrasicles* is
mistaken in his History, where he brings
in *Neocles* and *Demopolis* for the Sons of
Themistocles to incite or move compassion,
as if he were writing of a Tragedy: Yet
Diodorus the Cosmographer writes in his

*His Tomb
at Magne-
fia.*

Book

Book of Sepulchres, but by conjecture rather than of his certain knowledge, that near to the Haven of *Piræa*, where the Land runs out like an Elbow from the Promontory of *Alcimus*, and when you have doubled the Cape and passed inward where the Sea is always calm, there is a vast Foundation, and upon this the Tomb of *Themistocles* in the shape of an Altar; and *Plato* the *Comedian* seems to confirm this in these Verses,

*Thy Tomb is fairly placed on the Strand,
Where Merchants from all parts may pass or
land;
Where Ships from every quarter come in sight,
And may engage in many a bloody Fight :
So that thy Ashes placed on the Shore,
Both Sea and Land may honour and adore.*

Divers honours also and privileges were granted to the Kindred of *Themistocles* at *Magnesia*, which were observed down to our times; and another *Themistocles* of *Athens* enjoyed them, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and Friendship in the House of *Ammonius* the Philosopher.

. *The End of Themistocles's Life.*

T H E



Furius Camillus



Vandrebanc fe

THE
LIFE
OF
F. CAMILLUS.

Englished from the Greek,
By *Mich. Payne, Trin. Coll. Cant. Soc.*

AMONG the many remarkable things that are related of *Furius Camillus*, this above all seems most singular and strange, that he who for the most part was in the highest Commands, and had performed the greatest Actions, was five times chosen Dictator, triumphed four times, and was styled a *Second Founder of Rome*, yet never was so much as once Consul. The reason whereof was the state and temper of the

then Commonwealth; for the People being at dissention with the Senate, stiffly refused to return Consuls, but in their stead elected other Magistrates called *Military Tribunes*, who though they acted every thing with full Consular Power and Authority, yet their Government was less grievous to the People, by reason they were more in number: For to have the management of affairs entrusted in the hands of six Persons rather than two, was some ease and satisfaction to those who could not endure the Dominion of a few. This was the condition of the times when *Camillus* flourished in the height of his actions and glory; and although the Government in the mean time had often proceeded to Consular Elections, yet he could never perswade himself to be Consul, against the good will and inclination of the People. In all other his administrations, which were many and various, he so behaved himself, that when he was alone in Authority, his power was exercised as in common, but the honour of all actions redounded intirely to himself, even when in joint Commission with others; the reason of the former was his moderation, commanding without pride or insolence; of the latter, his great judgment and Wisdom, wherein without question he excelled all others. And whereas the House of the

Furii

Furii was not at that time of any considerable quality, he was the first that raised himself to honour, serving under *Posthumius Tubertus*, Dictator, in the great Battel against the *Æques* and *Volsces*; for riding out from the rest of the Army, and in the charge receiving a wound in his Thigh, he for all that gave not over the fight, but plucking out the Dart that stuck close in the wound, and engaging with the bravest of the Enemy, he put them to flight; for which action, among other rewards bestowed on him, he was created Censor, an Office in those days of great esteem and authority. During his Censorship one very good act of his is recorded, that whereas the Wars had made many Widows, he obliged such as had no Wives, some by fair persuasion, others by threatening to set Fines on their heads, to take them in Marriage. Another necessary one, in causing Orphans to be rated, who before were exempted from Taxes, the frequent and chargeable Wars requiring more than ordinary expenses to maintain them. But that which pinched them most was the Siege of *Veii* The Siege of Veii. (some call them *Venetani*.) This was the head City of *Tuscany*, not inferiour to *Rome*, either in number of Arms or multitude of Soldiers, insomuch that presuming on her wealth and magnificence, and priding her self

self in the variety of pleasures she enjoyed, she had fought many a fair Battel with the *Romans*, contending for Glory and Empire. But now they had quitted their former ambition, having been weakned and brought low in many notable encounters; so that having fortified themselves with high and strong Walls, and furnished the City with all sorts of Weapons offensive and defensive, as likewise with Corn and all manner of Provisions, they chearfully endured the Siege, which though tedious to them, was no less troublesome and vexatious to the besiegers. For the *Romans* having never been accustomed to lie long abroad in the heat of Summer, and constantly to winter at home, they were then first compelled by the Tribunes, to build Forts and Garrisons in the Enemies Country, and raising strong Works about their Camp, to joyn Winter and Summer together. And now the seventh year of the War drawing to an end, the Commanders began to be suspected as too slow and remiss in driving on the Siege, insomuch that they were discharged and others chosen for the War, among whom was *Camillus* then second time Tribune. But at present he had no hand in the Siege, his lot being to make War upon the *Falisces* and *Capenates*, who taking advantage of the *Romans* being busied on all hands, had

had much spoiled their Country, and through all the *Tuscan* War given them sore diversions, but were now reduced by *Camillus*, and with great losses shut up within their Walls.

And now in the very heat of the War an accident happened to the *Alban* Lake, no less wonderful than the most incredible things that are reported; and by reason no visible cause could be assigned, or any natural beginning whereto to ascribe it, it became matter of great amazement. It was the beginning of Autumn, and the Summer before had neither been very rainy, nor in appearance over troubled with Southern winds; and of the many Lakes, Brooks, and Springs of all sorts wherein *Italy* abounds, some were wholly dried up, others drew very little Water with them. But all the Rivers, as they constantly used in Summer, ran in a very low and hollow Chanel. But the *Alban* Lake, that is fed by no other Waters but its own, being compassed about with fruitful Mountains, without any cause, unless it were Divine, began visibly to rise and swell, increasing to the feet of the Mountains, and by degrees reaching to the very tops of them, and all this without any violent tossing, or agitation of its Waves. At first it was the wonder of Shepherds and Herds-men; but when the Earth, which like

a great Dam held up the Lake from falling into the lower grounds, through the quantity and weight of Water was broken down, and that in a violent stream it ran through the plow'd Fields and Plantations, to discharge it self into the Sea, it did not only strike terrour in the *Romans*, but was thought by all the Inhabitants of *Italy* to portend some extraordinary events. But the greatest talk of it was in the Camp that besieged *Veii*, when once this accident of the Lake came to be known among them; and as in long Sieges it is usual for parties of both sides to meet and converse with one another, it happened that a *Roman* had gained much confidence and familiarity with one of the besieged, a man well versed in ancient learning, and had the reputation of more than ordinary skill in divination. The *Roman* observing him to be overjoy'd at the story of the Lake, and to mock at the Siege, told him that this was not the only prodigy that of late had happened to the *Romans*, but that others more wonderful than this had befallen them, which he was willing to communicate to him, that he might the better provide for his private affairs in these publick distempers. The man greedily embraced the motion, expecting to hear some wonderful secrets, but when by little and little he had drill'd him on

*A subtle
fetch of
Roman
Souldier.*

on in discourse, and insensibly drawn him a good way from the Gates of the City, he snatched him up by the middle, being stronger than he, and by the assistance of others that came running from the Camp, seized and delivered him to the Commanders. The Man reduced to this necessity, and knowing that Destiny is not to be avoided, discover'd to them the secret counsels of his Country ; That it was not possible the City should be taken, until the *Alban* Lake, which now broke forth and had found out new passages, was drawn back from that course, and so diverted, that it could not mingle with the Sea. The Senate having heard and deliberated of the matter, decreed to send to *Delphos* to ask counsel of that God ; the Messengers were persons of the greatest quality, *Cossus Lici-nius*, *Valerius Potitus*, and *Fabius Ambustus* ; who having made their voyage by Sea, and consulted the God, returned with other answers, particularly, that there had been a neglect of some of their Country Rites relating to the *Latin* Feasts. As for the *Alban* Water, the Oracle commanded, that if it was possible, they should draw it from the Sea, and shut it up in its ancient bounds ; but if that was not to be done, then they should bring it down into Ditches and Trenches into the lower grounds, and so

Ambass-
tors sent to
Delphos.

dry it up; which Message being delivered, the Priests performed what related to the Sacrifices, and the People went to work, and turned the Water.

And now the Senate in the Tenth year of the War, taking away all other Commands, created *Camillus Dictator*, who chose *Cornelius Scipio* for his General of Horse; and in the first place he made Vows unto the Gods, that if they would grant a happy conclusion of that War, he would celebrate to their Honour the great Sports, and dedicate a Temple to the Goddess whom the Romans call *Matuta the Mother*; but from the Ceremonies which are used, one would verily think she was *Leucothea*, for leading a Servant-maid into the secret part of the Temple, they there buffet her, and then drive her out again; and they embrace their Brothers Children, more than their own; and in the matter of Sacrifices use the same Ceremonies as to *Bacchus* his Nurses, and what is customary in the sad case of *Ino* in remembrance of the Concubine. *Camillus* having made these Vows, marched into the Country of the *Faliscos*, and in a great Battel overthrew them and the *Capenates* their confederates; afterwards he turned to the Siege of *Veii*, and finding that to take it by assault would prove a difficult and hazardous attempt,

tempt, he cut Mines under ground, the Earth about the City being easie to break up, and allowing as much depth as would carry on the works without being discovered by the Enemy. This design going on in a hopeful way, he without gave assaults to the Enemy to divert them about the Walls, whilst they that worked underground in the Mines were insensibly, without being perceived, got within the Castle, under the Temple of Juno, which was the greatest and most celebrated in all the City. It is reported that the Prince of the *Tuscans* was at that very time at his Devotions, and that the Priest after he had looked into the Entrails of the Beast, should cry out with a loud voice, That the Gods would give the victory to those that should finish those Sacrifices : And that the *Romans* who were in the Mines hearing the words, immediately pull'd down the Floor, and ascending with noise and clashing of Weapons, frightened away the Enemy, and snatching up the Entrails carried them to *Camillus*. But this may look like a Fable. The City being taken by storm, and the Souldiers busied in pillaging and gathering an infinite quantity of Riches and Spoil, *Camillus* from the high Tower viewing what was done, at first wept for pity ; and when they that were by, congratulated his good success,

he

he lift up his hands to Heaven, and broke out into this Prayer. *O most mighty Jupiter, and ye Gods that are Judges of good and evil actions, Te know that not without just cause, but constrained by necessity, we have been forced to revenge our selves on the City of our unrighteous and implicable Enemies. But if in the vicissitude of things, there be any calamity due, to countervail this great felicity, I beg that it may be diverted from the City and Army of the Romans, and with as little hurt as may be, fall upon my own Head.* Having said these words, and just turning about (as the custom of the Romans is to turn to the right when they worship or pray) he fell flat to the ground, to the astonishment of all that were present. But recovering himself presently from the fall, he told them, that it had succeeded to his wish, a small mischance in recompence of the greatest good fortune.

Having sacked the City, he resolved, according as he had vowed, to carry Juno's Image unto *Rome*; and the Workmen being ready for that purpose, he sacrificed to the Goddess, and made his supplications, that she would be pleased to accept of their devotion toward her, and graciously vouchsafe to accept of a place among the Gods that presided at *Rome*: They say, that the Statue

Statue answered in a low voice, *that she was ready and willing to go.* Livy writes that in praying, *Camillus* touched the Goddess, and invited her, and that some of the standers by cryed out, *that she was willing.* They who stickle most for this Miracle, and endeavour to defend it, have the wonderful fortune of that City on their sides, which from a small and contemptible beginning, attained to that greatness and power which it could never have done, without those many and great manifestations of God upon all occasions appearing for it. Besides, they produce other Wonders of the like nature, as the often sweating of Statues, and that they have sometimes been heard to groan, as likewise the turning aside of some, and nodding and approving of others, as many of the Ancients have reported; and we our selves could relate divers wonderful things which we have heard from men of our own time, which are not lightly to be rejected: but to give too easie credit to such things, or wholly to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous, by reason of humane infirmity, which hath no bounds or command of it self, but is sometimes carried to superstition and dotage, otherwhile to the contempt and neglect of all Religion. But moderation is the best, and to do nothing too much. But *Camillus,*

Camillus's lus, whether puffed up with the greatness
deportment
upon the
sacking of
Veii di-
stastful to
the Ro-
mans.

whether puffed up with the greatness of the action, to have won a City that was competitor with *Rome*, and had held out a ten years siege, or exalted with the flattery of those that were about him, assumed to himself more than became a civil and legal Magistrate. Among other things was the pride and haughtiness of his Triumph, driving through *Rome* in a Chariot drawn with four White Horses, no General either before or since having done the like; for the *Romans* esteem that carriage to be sacred and peculiar only to the King and Father of the Gods. This alienated the hearts of the Citizens from him, who were not accustomed to such pomp and bravery.

The second pique they had against him, was his opposing the Law by which the City was to be divided; for the Tribunes of the People preferred a Law, that the People and Senate should be divided into two parts, one of which should remain at home, the other as the lot should give it remove to the new-taken City. By which means they should not only have much more Room, but by the advantage of two great and fair Cities be better able to maintain their Territories, and the rest of their plentiful Fortunes. The People therefore, who were now grown rich and numerous, greedily embraced it, and in great crouds, began

to

to tumult in the publick Courts, demanding to have it put to the Vote. But the Senate and ablest Citizens judging the Proceedings of the Tribunes to tend rather to the destruction than division of *Rome*, yet unable to bear up against it themselves, flew to *Camillus* for assistance, who fearing to come to the open encounter, yet by continual flinging in new occasions to busie and employ their heads, made a shift to stave off the Law. For these things he was disrelish by the People. But the greatest and most apparent cause of their hatred against him, arose from the tenths of the Spoil, the multitude having herein, if not so just, yet a plausible pretence against him. For it seems, as he went to the siege of *Veii*, he had vowed to *Apollo*, that if he took the City, he would dedicate to him the tenth of the Spoil. The City being taken and sacked, whether he was loth to trouble the Soldiers at that time, or that through multitude of business he had forgotten his Vow, he suffer'd them to enjoy that part of the Spoils also. Some time afterwards, when his Authority was laid down, he brought the matter before the Senate, and the Priests at the same time reported out of the Sacrifices, that the anger of the Gods was portended, and that they were not to be appeased without Expiation and Offerings,

Camillus
unmindful
of his Vow.

rings. The Senate decreed the obligation to be in force,

But seeing it was difficult for every one to produce the same very things they had taken, to be divided anew, they ordained that every one upon oath should bring into the Publick the tenth part of his gains. This seemed very severe and grievous to the Soldiers, who ceased not to murmur, that poor Men, and such as had endured so much labour and travail in the War, should be forced, out of what they had gained and spent, to bring in so great a proportion ; *Camillus* being assaulted by their clamour and tumults, for want of a better excuse, betook himself to the meanest of defences, by confessing he had forgotten his Vow ; but they complained that he that then vowed the tenth of the Enemy, now levied it out of the tenths of the Citizens. Nevertheless, every one having brought in his due proportion, it was decreed, that out of it a Bowl of massy Gold should be made

The free contribution of the Roman Ladies to pacifie Apollo. and sent unto *Delphos*. But there was great scarcity of Gold in the City, and when the Magistrates were considering where to get it, the *Roman* Ladies meeting together, and consulting among themselves, out of the golden Ornaments they wore, contributed as much as went to the making the Offering, which in weight came to Eight Tarents

lents of Gold. The Senate to give them the honour they had deserved, ordained that funeral Orations should be used at the Obsequies of Women, as well as Men, it having never before been a custom that any Woman after death was publickly praised. Chusing out therefore three of the chief of the Nobility for Ambassadors, they sent them in a fair Vessel, well mann'd, and sumptuously adorned. It was Winter, and the Sea was calm, however, it is remarkable, that being brought almost to the very brink of destruction, beyond all expectation, they escaped the danger. For hard by the Isles of *Æolus*, the Winds slacking, the Gallies of the *Liparians* came upon them, taking them for Pirates. But when they held up their hands in supplicant manner, the *Liparians* forbore violence, only fastned their Ship and towed her into the Harbour, where they exposed to sale their Goods and Persons, adjudging them to be lawful prize. But by the vertue and interest of one Man, *Timeſithius* by name, who was Governour of that place, and used his utmost perswasion, they were with much ado dismissed. Besides, he himself joined some of his own Vessels with them, to accompany them in their Voyage, and assist them at the dedication: For which he received honours at *Rome* according as he had deserved.

*War against
the Falif-
-ces.* deserved. And now the Tribunes of the People again resuming the Law about the division of the City, the War against the *Falif-ces* luckily broke out, giving liberty to the Nobility to chuse what Magistrates they pleased, who thereupon chose *Camillus Military Tribune*, with five other Associates; Affairs then requiring a Commander of authority and reputation, and one well experienc'd in War; when the People had ratified the Election, *Camillus* marched with his Forces into the Territories of the *Falif-ces*, and besieged *Falerii* a well fenced City, and plentifully stored with all necessaries of War: And although he perceived it would be no small work to take it, nor little time spent about it, yet he was willing to exercise the Citizens, and keep them doing abroad, that they might have no leisure, idling at home, to follow the Tribunes into Faction and Sedition. Which remedy the *Romans* constantly used, like good Physicians, to disperse abroad those violent Humours that disturb the Commonwealth. The *Falerians*, trusting in the strength of their City, which was well fortified on all sides, made so little account of the Siege, that beside those that guarded the Walls, the rest as in times of peace walked the Streets in their common Habits. The Boys went to School, and were led by their Master

ster to play and exercise about the Town-Walls; for the *Falerians*, like the *Grecians*, used one publick School, to the end, their Children being brought up together, might betimes learn to converse and be familiar with one another.

This School-master designing to betray ^{The trea-}
The Falerians by their Children, led them ^{chery of the}
out every day under the Town-wall, at ^{Falerian}
first but a little way, and when they had ^{School-}
exercised brought them home again. Afterwards ^{master.}
by degrees he drew them farther and farther, till at last by practice he had made them bold and fearless, as if no danger was about them; at last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Out-guard of the *Romans*, and delivered them up, demanding to be led to *Camillus*. Where being come, and standing in the middle, he said, *That he was the Master and Teacher of those Children, but preferring his favour before all other obligations, he was come to deliver up his Charge to him, and in that the whole City.* When *Camillus* had heard him out, he was struck with the horrour of so treacherous an Act, and turning to the Standers by, he said, *What a sad thing is War, which is begun and ended with much injustice and violence! But to good Men there are certain Laws even in War it self, and victory is not so greedily to be*

be hunted after, as not to refuse the assistance of wicked and unrighteous actions; for it becomes a great General to rely on his own virtue, and not on the deceit and treachery of others. Which said, he commanded his Officers to tear off his Cloaths, and bind his Hands behind him, and give the Boys Rods and Scourges, to punish the Traitor, and drive him back to the City. By this time the *Falerii* had understood the treachery of the School-master; and the City, as in such a general Calamity it must needs be, was full of lamentations and crys, the honourable Men and Women running in distraction about the Walls and Gates, when behold the Boys came whipping their Master on, naked and bound, calling *Camillus* their Saviour, their God, their Father; insomuch, that it struck not only into the Parents, but the rest of the Citizens that saw what was done, such an admiration and love of *Camillus* his Justice, that immediately running into Counsel, they sent Ambassadors to him, to resign whatever they had to his disposal. *Camillus* sent them to *Rome*, where being brought into the Senate, they spoke to this purpose, *That the Romans, preferring Justice before Victory, had taught them rather to embrace Submission than Liberty; that they could not confess themselves to be so much inferior in strength,*

His deserved Punishment.

strength, as they must acknowledge them to be superior in virtue. The Senate remitted the whole matter to *Camillus*, to judge and order as he thought fit. Who taking a sum of Money of the *Falerians*, and making a Peace with the whole Nation of the *Faliscos*, returned home: But the Soldiers, who expected to have had the Pillage of the City, when they came to *Rome* empty-handed, railed against *Camillus* among their Fellow-citizens, as a hater of the People, and one that maliciously opposed the interest of the Poor. Afterwards, when the Tribunes of the People again proposed the Law for dividing the City, *Camillus* of all others most openly appear'd against it, sparing no pains, but inveying with all boldness against the Promoters of it; so that forcing and constraining the multitude, they dismissed the Law, though contrary to their inclinations. But against *Camillus* they had an implacable hatred; insomuch, that though a great misfortune besel him in his Family (one of his Sons dying of a Disease) yet the commiseration of his case could not in the least make them abate of their malice. And indeed he took this loss with immoderate sorrow, being a man naturally of a mild and tender disposition; even that day, when the accusation was preferred against him, he kept house, and

*Camillus
labours un-
der two sad
disasters.*

was shut up a close Mourner with the Women. His Accuser was *Lucius Apuleius*; the Crime, Fraud in the *Tuscan Spoils*; and accordingly it was given out, that there were found with him certain Brass Gates, part of those Spoils. The People were exasperated against him, and it was plain they would take hold of the least pretence and occasion to condemn him. Wherefore gathering together his Friends and fellow Soldiers, and such as had bore command with him, a considerable number in all, he besought them that they would not suffer him to be unjustly crusht under false Accusations, and lest the mock and scorn of his Enemies. His Friends having advised and consulted among themselves, made answer, that as to the Sentence, they did not see how they could help him, but that they would contribute to whatsoever fine should be set upon him. Not able to endure so great an indignity, he resolved in his anger, to leave the City, and go into Exile. Wherefore having taken leave of his Wife, and his Son, he went silently to the Gate of the City, where making a stand, and turning himself about, he stretched out his Hands to the Capitol, and prayed to the Gods, *That if without any fault of his own, but merely through the malice and violence of the people, he was driven out into banishment,*

His voluntary banishment.

ment, that the Romans might quickly have cause to repent of it; and that all mankind might visibly perceive, that they needed his assistance, and longed for his return. Thus like Achilles, having left his Imprecations on the Citizens, he went into banishment; so that neither appearing, or making defence, he was condemned in the sum of fifteen thousand Asses, which reduced to Silver makes a thousand five hundred Drachma's; for an Asse was a little piece of Money, ten of which in Brass made a Penny. There is not a Roman but does believe that immediately upon the Prayers of *Camillus*, <sup>and its con-
comitant</sup> *calamities*. a sudden Judgment followed at the heels, and that he received a sufficient revenge for the injustice done unto him; which though we cannot think was pleasant, but rather grievous and bitter to him, yet it was very remarkable, and noised over the whole World: For such vengeance fell upon the City of *Rome*, and such dismal times succeeded, as drew along with them all manner of dangers and deaths, accompanied with disgrace and infamy: Whether or no it fell out by chance or fortune, or it be the Office of some God not to see injured Virtue go unrevenged. The first token that seemed to threaten some mischief to ensue, was the death of the Censor in the Month of *July*, for the Romans have a religious reverence

rence for the Office of a Censor, and esteem it a sacred thing. The second was, That just before *Camillus* went into exile, *Marcus Cedicius*, a Person of no great quality nor of the rank of Senators, but esteemed a sober and creditable man, reported to the *Military Tribunes* a thing worthy their consideration. That going along the Night before in that Street which is called the New Way, and being called by some body in a huge Voice, he turned about but could see no body, but heard a Voice bigger than a Man's; which said these words, *Go, Marcus Cedicius, and early in the morning tell the Military Tribunes, that suddenly they are to expect the Gauls.* But the Tribunes made a mock and sport with the story, and a little after *Camillus* his business fell out.

*The Gauls,
their origi-
nal and
progress.*

The *Gauls* are descended originally of the *Celtæ*, and are reported by reason of their vast numbers to have left their Country, not able to sustain them all, and to have gone in search of other places to inhabit. And being many thousands of them young Men and able to bear Arms, and carrying with them a greater number of Women and young Children, some of them passing the *Riphaean Mountains*, fell upon the Northern Ocean, and possessed the uttermost bounds of *Europe*; others seating them-

themselves between the *Pyrenæan Mountain* and the *Alpes*, for a long time lived near to the *Sennones* and *Celtorii*. But afterwards tasting of the Wine which was then first brought them out of *Italy*, they were all so much taken with the Liquor, and transported with the unusual delight, that snatching up their Arms, and taking their Parents along with them, they marched directly to the *Alpes* to find out that Country which yielded such Fruit, esteeming all others barren and unpleasant. He that first brought Wine among them, and was the chief instigator to draw them into *Italy*, is said to be one *Arron a Tuscan*, a Man of noble extraction, by nature not evil, but happened to be in these untoward Circumstances : He was Guardian to an Orphan, one of the richest of that Country, and much admired for his beauty, his name *Lucumo*; from his Childhood he had been bred up with *Arron* in his Family, and now grown up, he left not the House, pretending to take great delight in his conversation; thus for a great while together he secretly enjoyed *Arron's* Wife, corrupting and being corrupted by her. But when they were both so far gone on in their passions, that they could neither refrain their lust or conceal it, the young Man seised the Woman and openly carried her away. The Husband going to

*Arron instrumental
in bringing
the Gauls
into Italy.*

Law, and overpower'd in multitude of Friends and Money, left his own Country, and hearing of the state of the *Gauls*, went to them, and was Conductor of that Expedition into *Italy*. At first coming they presently possessed themselves of all that Country which anciently the *Tuscans* inhabited, reaching from the *Alpes* to both the Seas, as the names themselves witness; for the North Sea *Adria* is so called from the *Tuscan* City *Adria*, and that which lies on the other side to the South is called the *Tuscan* Sea. All the Country is well planted with Trees, has pleasant and rich Pasture, and well watered with Rivers. It had eighteen fair and stately Cities, excellently seated for Industry and Trade, and plentifully provided for all pleasures and delights. The *Gauls* casting out the *Tuscans*, seated themselves in them: But these things were done long before.

But the *Gauls* at this time were besieging *Clusium* a *Tuscan* City. The *Clusians* sent to the *Romans* for succour, desiring them to interpose with the *Barbarians* by their Letters and Ambassadors. There were sent three of the Family of the *Fabii*, Persons of the greatest quality, and most honourable in the City. The *Gauls* received them courteously in respect to the name of *Rome*, and giving over the assault which

was

was then making upon the Walls, came to conference with them, where the Ambassadors asking what injury they had received of the Clusians, that they thus invaded their City, Brennus, King of the Gauls, smiling made answer, *The Clusians do us injury, in that, not able to till a small parcel of ground, they must needs possess a great Territory, and will not communicate any part to us, who are strangers, many in number, and poor.* In the same nature, O Romans, formerly the Albanes, Fidenates and Ardeates, and now lately the Veiens and Capenates, and many of the Falisces and Volsces did you injury; upon whom ye make War if they do not yield you part of what they possess, ye make Slaves of them, ye waste and spoil their Country and ruine their Cities; neither in so doing are ye cruel or unjust, but follow that most ancient of all Laws, which gives the things of the feeble to the strong, beginning from God and ending in the Beasts; for all these by nature seek, the stronger to have advantage of the weaker: Leave off therefore to pity the Clusians whom we besiege, lest ye teach the Gauls to be good and compassionate to those that are oppressed by you. By this answer the Romans perceived that Brennus was not to be treated with, so they went into Clusium, and encouraged and stirr'd up the Inhabitants to make a sally with

Brennus's satirical reply to the Ambassadors at the Siege of Clusium.

with them upon the *Barbarians*, which they did either to try the strength of the *Clusians*, or to shew their own. The sally being made, and the fight growing hot about the Walls, one of the *Fabii*, *Quintus Ambustus*, being well mounted, and setting Spurs to his Horse, made full against a *Gaul*, a Man of huge bulk and stature, whom he saw was rode out a great distance from the rest. At the first he was not perceived through the sharpnes of the encounter, and the glittering of his Armour that hindred the sight of him; but when he had overthrown the *Gaul*, and was going to gather the Spoils,

Brennus by what incens'd to make War with Rome. *Brennus* knew him, and invoking the Gods to be witnesses, that contrary to the known and common Law of Nations, which is holily observed by all mankind, that he who came an Ambassador should act hostility against him, he drew off his Men, and bidding the *Clusians* farewell, led his Army directly to *Rome*. But not willing it should look as if they took advantage of that injury, and were ready to embrace any slight occasion and pretence of quarrel, he sent a Herald to demand the Man in punishment, and in the mean time marched leisurely on. The Senate being met at *Rome*, among many others that spoke against the *Fabii*, the Priests called *Feciales* were the most violent prosecutors, who laying Religion before the

the Senate, advised them that they would lay the whole guilt and expiation of the fact upon him that committed it, and so acquit the rest. These *Feciales*, *Numa Pompilius*, the mildest and justest of Kings, constituted the Conservatours of Peace, and the Judges and Determiners of all Causes by which War may justifiably be made. The Senate referring the whole matter to the People, and the Priests there as well as in the Senate pleading against *Fabius*, the multitude did so little regard their authority, that in scorn and contempt of it they chose *Fabius* and the rest of his Brethren *Military Tribunes*. The *Gauls* hearing this, in great rage would no longer delay their march, but hastned on with all the speed they could make. The places through which they marched, terrified with their numbers and such dreadful preparations of War, and considering the violence and fierceness, of their natures, began to give their Countries for lost, not doubting but their Cities would quickly follow; but contrary to expectation they did no injury as they passed, or drove any thing from the Fields, and when they went by any City they cried out, *That they were going to Rome*; that the *Romans only were their Enemies*, and that they took all others for their Friends. Thus whilst the *Barbarians* were

Fabius chosen Tribune in the expedition against the Gauls.

were hastening with all speed, the *Military Tribunes* brought the *Romans* into the Field to be ready to engage them, being not inferior to the *Gauls* in number (for they were no less than Forty thousand Foot) but most of them raw Soldiers, and such as had never handled a Weapon before ; besides they had neglected to consult the Gods, as they ought and used to do upon all difficulties, especially War, but ran on without staying for Priest or Sacrifice. No less did the multitude of Commanders distract and confound their proceedings ; for before upon less occasions they chose a single Person called *Dictator*, being sensible of what great importance it is in times of danger, to have the Soldiers united under one General, who had absolute and unaccountable power in his hands. Add to all, that the remembrance of *Camillus* his case was no small hindrance to their affairs, it being grown a dangerous thing to command without humouring and courting the Soldiers. In this condition they left the City, and encamped by the River *Allia* about Eleven Miles from *Rome*, and not far from the place where it falleth into the *Tyber*, where the *Gauls* coming upon them, and they shamefully engaging without Order or Discipline, were miserably defeated. The left Wing was immediately driven into the River,

Neglect of religious duties, and multiplicity of Officers extremely prejudicial to the Roman affairs.

River, and there utterly destroyed : the Right had less damage, by declining the shock, and from the low grounds getting to the tops of Hills, from whence many of them afterwards drop'd into the City ; the rest, as many as escaped (the Enemy being weary of the slaughter) stole by night to Veii, giving *Rome* for gone, and all that was in it for lost. This Battel was fought about the Summer Solstice, the Moon being at full, the very same day in which formerly happened that sad misfortune to the *Fabii*, when three hundred of that name and Family were at one time cut off by the *Inscares*. But from this second loss and defeat, the day got the name of *Alliensis*, from the River *Allia*, and still retaineth it. But concerning unlucky days, whether we should esteem any such or no, or whether *Heraclitus* did well in upbraiding *Hesiod* for distinguishing them into fortunate and unfortunate, as one ignorant that the nature of every day is the same, I have discoursed in another place ; but upon occasion of this present subject, I think it will not be amiss to annex a few examples relating to this matter. On the fifth of June the *Bœotians* happened to get two signal Victories, the one about *Leuctra*, the other at *Gerasmus*, about three hundred years before, when they overcame *Lattanyas* and the *Theffalians*,

Remarkable occurrences relating to the observations of particular days.

ans, and asserted the liberty of Greece. Again, on the sixth of August the Persians were worsted by the Grecians at Marathon; on the third at Platææ, as also at Mycale; on the twenty fifth at Arbela. The Athenians about the full Moon in August got a Sea Victory about Naxus under the Conduct of Chabrias; about the twentieth at Salamin, as we have shewn in our Book of Days, April was very unfortunate to the Barbarians, for in that Month Alexander overcame Darius his General at Granicum, and the Carthaginians on the twenty seventh were beaten by Timoleon about Sicily, on which same Day and Month Troy seems to have been taken, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes and Phylarchus have related. On the other hand, the Month July was not very lucky to the Grecians; for on the seventh day of the same they were defeated by Antipater, at the Battel in Crannon, and utterly ruin'd; and before that in Chæronea they were defeated by Philip, and on the very same Day, same Month, and same Year, they that went with Archidamus into Italy were there cut off by the Barbarians, The Carthaginians also observe the twenty seventh of the same Month, as bringing with it the most and greatest of their losses. I am not ignorant that about the Feast of Mysteries, Thebes was destroyed by Alexander;

ander, and after that, upon the same twentieth of *August*, on which day they celebrate the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, the *Athenians* received a Garrison of the *Macedonians*; on the self-same day the *Romans* lost their Camp under *Scipio*, by the *Cimbrians*, and under the conduct of *Lucullus* overcame the *Armenians* and *Tigranes*. King *Attalus* and *Pompey* died both on their birth days. I could reckon up several that have had variety of fortune on the same day. This day called *Allienis* is one of the unfortunate ones to the *Romans*, and for its sake other two in every Month, Fear and Superstition, as the custom of it is more, and more encreasing. But I have discoursed this more accurately in my Book of *Roman Causes*.

And now after the Battel, had the *Gauls* The Gauls imprudent managers of their Victory. immediately pursued those that fled, there had been no remedy but *Rome* must have wholly been ruined, and all those who remained in it utterly destroyed, such was the terrore that those who escaped the Battel had struck into the City at their return, and so great afterwards was the distraction and confusion. But the *Gauls* not imagining their Victory to be so considerable, and overtaken with the present joy, fell to feasting and dividing the Spoil, by which means they gave leisure to those who were for

for leaving the City, to make their escape, and to those that remained to provide and prepare for their coming. For they who resolved to stay at *Rome*, quitting the rest of the City, betook themselves to the *Capitol*, which they fortified with strong Rampiers and Mounds, and all sorts of Slings and Darts, in order to hold out a Siege. But their first and principal care was of their Holy Things, most of which they conveyed into the Capitol. But as for the consecrated Fire, the *Vestal Virgins* took it up and fled away with it, as likewise with other Holy Relicks. Some write that they preserved nothing but that ever-living Fire which *Numa* had ordained to be worshipped as the Principle of all things; for Fire is the most active thing in nature, and all generation is motion or at least with motion, all other parts of matter without warmth lie sluggish and dead, and crave the influence of heat as their Soul, which when it comes upon them, they presently fall to doing or

Why institu-
ted by Nu-
ma.

suffering something: Wherefore *Numa*, a Man very curious in such things, and for his wisdom thought to converse with the Muses, did consecrate Fire, and ordained it to be kept ever burning, in resemblance of that eternal Power which preserveth and acteth all things. Others say, that that Fire was the same they burned before the Sacrifices,

fices, and was no other than what the Greeks call *Purifying Fire*, but that there were other things hid in the most secret part of the Temple, which were kept from the view of all except those Virgins which they call Vestals. The most common opinion was, that the Image of *Pallas* brought into *Italy* by *Aeneas*, was laid up there; others say, that the *Samothracian Gods* lay there; telling a story, How that *Dardanus* carried them to *Troy*, and when he had built that City, Dedicated them there; that after *Troy* was taken, *Aeneas* stole them away and kept them till his coming into *Italy*. But they who pretend to understand more of these things, affirm, that there are two Barrels, not of any great size, one of which stands open and has nothing in it, the other full and sealed up; But that neither of them is to be seen but by the most Holy Virgins. Others think that they who say this are deceived, because the Virgins put most of their holy things into two Barrels, and hid them under ground in the Temple of *Quirinus*, and that from hence that place to this day bears the surname of *Barrels*. However it be, taking the choicest and most venerable things they had, they fled away with them, shaping their course along the River side, where *Lucius Albinus*, a simple Citizen of

Rome, who among others was making his escape, overtook them, having his Wife, Children and Goods in a Cart, who seeing the Virgins juggling along in their Arms the Holy Relicks of the Gods in a helpless and weary condition, he caused his Wife and Children to descend, and taking out his Goods, put the Virgins in the Cart, that they might make their escape to some of the *Grecian* Cities. This extraordinary devotion of *Albinus*, and respect to the Gods in such an exigence of time, and extremity of his own affairs, is so remarkable, as deserves not to be passed over in silence. But the Priests that belonged to other Gods, and the most ancient of the Senators, such as had run through many Consulships and Triumphs, could not endure to think of leaving the City; but putting on their holy Veilures and Robes of State, and *Fabius* the High Priest performing the Office, they made their Prayers to the Gods, and, devoting themselves as it were for their Country, sat themselves down in Ivory Chairs in the Market-place, and in that posture expected the uttermost of what should follow. On the third day after the Battel, *Brennus* appeared with his Army at the City, and finding the Gates to stand wide open, and no Guards upon the Walls, he first began to suspect it was some design or stratagem,

tagem, never dreaming that the *Romans* were in so low and forsaken a condition. But when he found it to be so indeed, he ^{Brennus} entered at the *Colline Gate*, and took *Rome* ^{enters} *Rome*. in the Three hundred and sixtieth year, or a little more, after it was built, if it be likely that an exact account of those times has been preserved, when there is so much confusion and dispute in things of a later date. The report of the City's being taken presently flew into *Greece*, though in different and uncertain rumours; for *Heraclides of Pontus*, who lived not long after these times, in his Book of the Soul, relates that a certain report came from the West, that an Army proceeding from the *Hyperboreans*, had taken a Greek City called *Rome*, seated somewhere upon the great Ocean. But I do not wonder that such a fabulous and bumbast Author as *Heraclides* should foist into the truth of the story such high-flown words as *Hyperborean* and *Ocean*. Aristotle the Philosopher appears to have heard an exact account of the taking of the City by the *Gauls*, but he calls him that recovered it *Lucius*, but *Camillus* his surname was not *Lucius* but *Marcus*; but this is spoken by way of conjecture. *Brennus* having taken possession of the City, set a strong Guard about the Capitol, and going himself to view the City, when he came into the

Market-place, he was struck with an amazement at the sight of so many men sitting in that order and silence, observing that they neither rose at his coming, or so much as changed colour or countenance, but without fear or concern leaned upon their Staves, and in that sullen majesty sat looking one upon the other. The Gauls for a great while stood wondring at the object, being surprised with the strangeness of it, not daring so much as to approach or touch them, taking them for an Assembly of the Gods. But when one, bolder than the rest, drew near to *M. Papirius*, and putting forth his hand, gently touched his Chin, and stroked his long Beard, *Papirius* with his Staff struck him on the Head and broke it, at which the *Barbarian* enraged, drew out his Sword and slew him; this was the introduction to the slaughter, for the rest of his fellows following his example, set upon them all and killed them, and continuing their rage, dispatched all that came in their way: in this fury they went on to the sacking and pillaging the Houses, for many days together lugging and carrying away. Afterwards they burnt them down to the ground, and demolish'd them, being incensed at those who kept the Capitol, because they would not yield to summons, or hearken to a surrender, but on the contrary from

The Roman Senators barbarously murdered by the Gauls.

from their Walls and Rampiers galled the Besiegers with their Slings and Darts. This provoked them to destroy the whole City, and put to the Sword all that came to their hands, young and old, Men, Women and Children. And now the Siege of the Capitol having lasted a good while, the *Gauls* began to be in want of Provision, wherefore dividing their Forces, part of them stay'd with the King at the Siege, the rest went to forage the Country, destroying the Towns and Villages where they came; but not all together in a Body, but in different Squadrons and Parties; and to such a confidence had success raised them, that they carelessly rambled about without the least fear or apprehension of danger. But the greatest and best ordered Body of their Forces went to the City of *Ardea* where *Camillus* then sojourned, having ever since his leaving *Rome* sequestred himself from all business, and taken to a private life: but now he began to rouse up himself and cast about, not how to avoid or escape the Enemy, but to find out an opportunity how to be revenged of them. And perceiving that the *Ardeans* wanted not Men, but rather heart and courage, through the unskilful management of their Officers, at first he began to deal with the young Men, flinging out words among them, *That they ought not to ascribe*

Camillus
studious of
supporting
the declin-
ing state of
his Coun-
try.
the

the misfortune of the Romans to the courage of their Enemy, or attribute the losses they sustained by rash counsel, to the conduct of those who brought nothing with them to conquer, but were only an evidence of the power of Fortune; That it was a brave thing even with danger to repel a foreign and barbarous War, whose end in conquering was like Fire to lay waste and destroy. But if they would be courageous and resolute, he was ready to put an opportunity in their hands to gain a Victory without hazard at all. When he found the young men embraced the thing, he went to the chief Officers and Governors of the City, and having persuaded them also, he mustered all that could bear Arms, and drew them up within the Walls, that they might not be perceived by the Enemy who was near; who having scour'd the Country, and returned heavy laden with booty, lay encamped in the Plains in a careless and negligent posture; so that the night coming upon them who had been disordered with Wine, there was a great silence through all the Camp. Which when *Camillus* understood by his Spies, he drew out the Ardeans, and in the dead of the night, passing in silence these grounds that lay between, *His Vici*, he made himself master of their Works, and over the Gauls at then commanding his Trumpets to sound, Ardea. And his Men to shout and hollow, he struck such

such terror into them, that even they who took the Alarm could hardly recover their Senses. Some were so overcharged with Wine, that all the noise of the Assailants could not awaken them : A few, whom fear made sober, getting into some order, for a while resisted, and so died with their Weapons in their hands. But the greatest part of them, buried in Wine and Sleep, were surprized without their Arms, and dispatched : But as many of them as, by the advantage of the night, got out of the Camp, were the next day found scattered abroad and wandering in the Fields, and were pick't up by the Horse that pursued them. The Fame of this Action presently flew through the neighbouring Cities, and stirred up the Youth of all parts to come and join themselves with him. But none were so much concerned as those Romans who escaped in the Battel of Allia, and were now at Veii thus lamenting with themselves ; *O Heavens, what a Commander has Providence bereaved Rome of, to honour Ardea with his Actions ! And that City, which brought forth and nursed so great a Man, is lost and gone ; and we destitute of a Leader, and living within strange Walls, sit idle, and see Italy ruin'd before our eyes. Come, let us send to the Ardeans to have back our General, or else, with Weapons in our*

hands, let us go thither to him ; for he is no longer a banish'd man, nor we *Citizens*, having no Country, but what is in the possession of the *Enemy*. They all agreed upon the matter, and sent to *Camillus*, to desire him to take the Command ; but he answered, that he would not, until they that were in the Capitol should legally chuse him ; for he esteemed them, as long as they were in being, to be his *Country* : that if they should command him, he would readily obey ; but against their consents, he would intermeddle with nothing. When this answer was returned, they admired the modesty and temper of *Camillus*, but they could not tell how to find a Messenger to carry these things to the Capitol ; and what was more, it seemed altogether impossible for any one to get to them, whilst the *Enemy* was in full possession of the City. But among the young men, there was

Cominius's hazardous attempt.

one *Pontius Cominius*, of indifferent birth, but ambitious of honour ; this man professed himself to run the hazard, but he took no Letters with him to those in the Capitol, lest that being intercepted, the *Enemy* might learn the intentions of *Camillus*. But putting on a poor garment, and carrying Corks under it, the greatest part of the way he boldly travelled by day, and came to the City when it was dark : The Bridge

he

he could not pass, by reason it was guarded by the *Barbarians*; so that taking his Cloaths, which were neither many nor heavy, and binding them about his head, he laid his body upon the Corks, and swimming on them, got over to the City. And avoided those Quarters where he perceived the Enemy was awake, which he guessed at by the lights and noise, he went to the *Carmentale* Gate, where there was greatest silence, and where the Hill of the Capitol is steepest, and rises with craggy and broken stones. By this way he got up, though with much difficulty, by reason of the abruptness of the passage, and presented himself to the Guards, saluting them, and telling them his name; he was taken in, and carried to the Commanders. and a Senate being immediately called, he related to them in order the victory of *Camillus*, which they had not heard of before, and told them the proceedings of the Soldiers, advising them to confirm the Command to *Camillus*, as in whose conduct alone the whole Army abroad relied. Having heard and consulted of the matter, the Senate declared *Camillus* Dictator, and sent back *Pontius* the same way that he came; who, with the same success that he came, got through the Enemy, without being discovered, and delivered to the

Romans

Camillus voted Dictator.

Romans, the Election of the Senate, who receiv'd it with great acclamations of joy; and *Camillus* coming to them, found twenty thousand of them ready in Arms; with which Forces, and those Confederates he brought along with him, which were more in number, he prepared to set upon the Enemy.

But at *Rome* some of the *Barbarians* passing by chance that way by which *Pontius* by night had got into the Capitol, spied in several places the print of his feet and hands, as he caught and clambered, and the Moss that grew to the Rock tore off and broken, and reported it to the King; who coming in person and viewing it, for the present said nothing. But in the Evening, picking out such of the *Gauls* as were nimblest of body, and by living in the Mountains were accustomed to climb, he then spake unto them. *The Enemy themselves have shewn us a way how to come at them, which we knew not of before; and have taught us, that it is not so difficult and impossible, but that Men may overcome it.* It would be a great shame for us who Command, having begun well, to fail in the end; and to give over a place as impregnable, when the Enemy himself chalks us out the way by which it may be taken; for in the same place where it was easie for one Man to get up, it will not be hard

hard for many, one after another; nay, when many shall undertake it, their mutual assistance of one another will be a great addition of strength and firmness. Rewards and honours shall be bestowed on every man according as he shall acquit himself in the action. When the King had thus spoken, the Gauls chearfully undertook to perform it, and in the dead of night, a good party of them together, with a great silence began to climb the Rock, catching hold of the craggy Stones, and drawing their Bodies into the broken places, which though hard and untoward in it self, yet upon trial prov'd not half so difficult as they had expected it. So that the foremost of them having gained the top of all, and put themselves into order, they were not far from surprizing the Out-works, and mastering the Watch, who were fast asleep, for neither Man nor Dog perceived their coming. But there were sacred Geese kept near the Temple of Juno, which at other times were plentifully fed, but at this time, by reason that Corn and all other Provisions were grown strait, their allowance was shornted, and they themselves in a poor and lean condition. This Creature is by nature of quick sense, and apprehensive of the least noise; so that being besides watchful through hunger, and restless, they immediately discovered

*The Gauls
discovered
by the sa-
cred Geese,
in their at-
tempts upon
the Capitol.*

covered the coming of the *Gauls*; so that running up and down, with their noise and cackling, they raised the whole Camp. The *Barbarians* on the other side perceiving themselves discovered, no longer endeavoured to conceal their attempt, but with great shouting and violence set themselves to the assault. The *Romans* every one in haste snatching up the next Weapon that came to hand, did what they could on this

They are valiantly encounter'd by Manlius. sudden occasion. *Manlius*, a man of Consular dignity, of strong body and stout heart, was the first that made head against them, and engaging with two of the Enemy at once, with his Sword cut off the right Arm of one just as he was lifting up his Poleax to strike, and running his Target full in the face of the other, tumbled him headlong down the steep Rock; then mounting the Rampier, and there standing with others that came running to his assistance, he drove down the rest of them, there having not many got up; and those that had, doing nothing brave or gallant. The *Romans* having thus escaped this danger, early in the morning took the Captain of the Watch and flung him down the Rock upon the head of their Enemies; and to *Manlius* for his victory they voted a reward which carried more honour than advantage with it, which was, that they contributed to him

him as much as every man had for his daily allowance, which was half a pound of Bread, and about half a pint of Wine, Hence-forward the affairs of the *Gauls* were daily in a worse and worse condition; they wanted Provisions, being kept in from forranging through fear of *Camillus*; besides, that sickness came upon them, occasioned by the number of Carcasses that lay unburied in heaps: Moreover, being lodged ^{A contag.} among the Ruines, the Ashes, which were ^{ous infecti-} very deep, blown about with the wind, ^{on among} and mingled with the Toultry heat, caused ^{the Gauls.} a dry and pestilent Air, which drawn in, infected their Bodies. But the chief cause was the change of their natural Climate, coming out of shady and hilly Countrys, which afforded pleasant retirements and shelter from the heat, to lodge in low and champion Grounds, naturally unhealthful in the Autumn Season. Another thing which broke their Spirits, was the length and tediousness of the Siege (for they had now sate seven Months before the Capitol) insomuch, that there was vast desolation among them; and the number of the dead grown so great, that the living scarce sufficed to bury them. Neither were things any thing better with the Besieged, for famine encreased upon them; and not knowing what *Camillus* did, they remained in a languish-

Languishing and desponding condition ; for it was impossible to send any to him, the City was so narrowly guarded by the *Barbarians*. Things being in this sad condition on both sides, it came to pass that a motion of treaty was made by some of the Fore-guards as they happened to discourse with one another, which being embraced by the better sort, *Sulpicius*, Tribune of the *Romans*, came to parle' with *Brennus* ; where it was agreed, that the *Romans* laying down a thousand weight of Gold, the *Gauls* upon the receipt of it should immediately quit the City and Territories. The agreement being confirmed by oath on both sides, and the Gold brought forth, the *Gauls* used false dealing in the weights, first privily, afterwards openly, pulling back the balance and violently turning it, at which the *Romans* being moved, and complaining, *Brennus* in a scoffing and insulting manner pull'd off his Sword and Belt, and threw them both into the Scales ; and when *Sulpicius* asked, what that meant, What should it mean (says he) but *woe to the conquered* ? which afterwards became a proverbial Saying. As for the *Romans*, some were so incensed, that they were for taking their Gold back again, and returning, and with resolution to endure the uttermost extremities of the Siege. Others were for passing

passing by and dissembling a petty injury, and not to account that the indignity of the thing lay in paying more than was due, but the paying any thing at all; which stood not with their honour to have done, had not the necessity of the times made them yield unto it. Whilst this difference ^{Camillus} was amongst themselves, and with the ^{surprises} Gauls, Camillus was at the Gates, and having learned what had passed, he commanded the body of his Forces to follow slowly after him in good order, and himself, with the choicest of his men hastning on, went presently to the Romans. Where all giving way to him, and receiving him as their sole Magistrate, with profound silence and order, he took the Gold out of the Scales, and delivered it to his Officers, and commanded the Gauls to take their Weights and Scales and depart, saying, that *it was customary with the Romans to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold.* And when Brennus began to rage and say, that he had injury done him in breaking the Contract; Camillus answered, that it was never legally made, and the agreements of no force or obligation at all; for that himself being declared Dictator, and there being no other Magistrate by Law; that he had contracted with those who had no power to do it: But now they might use ^{their}

their own discretion, for he was come as absolute Lord by Law, to grant pardon to such as should ask it, or inflict punishment on those who had been Authors of these disturbances, if they did not repent. At this *Brennus* flew out into rage, and it came to a present quarrel; both sides draw in their Swords, and vigorously assaulting each other, being mixed in confusion together, as could not otherwise be amongst the ruines of Houses and narrow Lanes, and such places where it was impossible to draw up in any order. But *Brennus* presently recollecting himself, called off his Men, and with the loss of a few only, brought them to their Camp; and rising in the night with all his Forces, left the City, and going on about eight mile, encamped upon the *Gabinian* way. As soon as day appeared *Camillus* came up with him, excellently provided, and his Souldiers full of courage and confidence, and there engaging with him in a sharp Fight, and which lasted a long while, he overthrew his Army with great slaughter, and took their Camp. Of those that fled, some were presently cut off by the Pursuers; others, of whom was the greatest number, being scattered here and there, the People of the Villages and neighbouring Cities came running out and dispatched them. Thus *Rome* was

*Brennus
secretly
withdraws
from
Rome.
Is utterly
defeated by
Camillus.*

was strangely taken, and more strangely recovered : having been seven whole months in the possession of the *Barbarians*, who entered her about the fifteenth day of *July*, and were driven out about the fourteenth of *February* following. *Camillus* Triumphed, as he deserved, having saved his Countrey that was lost ; and brought the City back again to it self. For they that had lived abroad, together with their Wives and Children, accompanied him in his Triumph, and they who had been shut up in the Capitol, and were reduc'd almost to the point of perishing with hunger, went out to meet him, imbracing each other, and weeping for joy ; and through the excess of the present pleasure, scarce believing the truth of their deliverance. But when the Priests and Ministers of the Gods appeared, bearing those sacred Relicks, which in their flight they had either hid there, or conveyed away with them, and now openly shewed that they were preserved, it yielded a most joyful and desirable spectacle to the Citizens who took it, as if with them the Gods themselves were again returned unto *Rome*. After *Camillus* had sacrificed to the Gods, and purged the City, the Priests leading the Procession, and performing the customary Ceremonies, he restored the present Temples, and erected <sup>Camillus
by what in-
duced to
to found a
new Temple</sup> *Q. 2* a new

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a new one to the God, called the *Speaker* or *Caller*, chusing the very same place in which that voice from Heaven came by night to *Marcus Cedicius*, foretelling the coming of the Barbarian Army. It was a business of great difficulty, and an exceeding hard task, amidst so much Rubbish, to discover and set out the consecrated places ; but by the unwearied diligence of *Camillus*, and the incessant labour of the Priests, it was at last accomplished. But when the business came to the rebuilding the City, which was wholly demolished, an heartless despondency seized the Multitude, and a backwardness to the work, as those who wanted all necessary materials, and had more need of some refreshment and rest from their labours, than to toil and wear out themselves already broken both in body and fortunes. Thus by leisure they turned their thoughts again towards *Veii*, a City ready built, and excellently provided of all things ; which gave occasion to many who sought to be popular, by following and nourishing the humour, to raise new tumults, and many seditious words were flung out against *Camillus* ; that out of ambition and self-glory he with-held them from a City fit to receive them, forcing them to live in the midst of Ruines, and to raise such a pile of Rubbish,

*He is maligne,
and
why.*

that

that he might be esteemed not the chief Magistrate only and General of *Rome*, but (setting *Romulus* aside) the Founder also. The Senate therefore, fearing a Sedition, would not suffer *Camillus*, though desirous, to lay down his Authority within the year, though no other Dictator had ever held it above six months.

Besides, they endeavoured by kind persuasions and familiar Addresses to appease and sweeten their minds and clear up their Spirits. Sometimes they would lead them to the Monuments and Tombs of their Ancestors, often calling to their remembrance the sacred Oratories and holy Places which *Romulus* and *Numa*, or any other of their Kings had consecrated and left unto them; but amongst the chief of their holy Relicks, they set before them that fresh and raw Head, which was found in laying the foundation of the Capitol, as a place destin'd by fate to be the Head of all *Italy*. What a shame would it be to them, by forsaking the City, to lose and extinguish that holy Fire, which since the War was re-kindled by the Vestal Virgins, to see the City it self either inhabited by Foreigners and Strangers, or left a wild Pasture for Cattel to graze on? Such reasons as these, mixt with Complaints and Intreaties, they used with the People; sometimes in private, ta-

The persuasions of the Senators unsuccessful to the rebuilding of the City.

king them singly one by one ; and sometimes in their publick Assemblies. But still they were afreh assaulted by the out-cries of the Multitude, protesting and bewailing their present wants and inability ; beseeching them, that seeing they were just met together, as from a Shipwreck, naked and destitute, they would not constrain them to patch up the pieces of a ruin'd and shattered City, when they had another at hand ready built and prepared. *Camillus* thought good to refer it to the Senate ; and he himself discoursed largely and earnestly in behalf of his Country, as likewise did many others. At last, calling to *Lucius Lucretius*, whose place was first to speak, he commanded him to give his sentence, and the rest

A remarkable instance of the inclination of the Romans to superstition. as they followed in order. Silence being made, and *Lucretius* just about to begin, by chance a Captain without, passing by the Senate-House, and leading his Company of the Day-guard, called out with a loud voice to the Ensign-bearer, to stay and fix his Standard ; for that was the best place to stay in. This voice coming in that nick of time, was taken as a direction what was to be done ; so that *Lucretius* embracing the Omen, and adoring the Gods, gave his sentence for staying, as likewise did all the rest that followed. Even among the common people it wrought a wonderful change of

of affection, every one heartning and encouraging his Neighbour, and setting himself chearfully to the work; proceeding not in any regular lines or proportions, but every one pitching upon that plot of ground which came next to hand, or best pleased his fancy; by which haste and hurry in building, they raised the City with narrow and intricate Lanes, and Houses huddled together one upon the back of another: For it is said, that within the compass of the year, the whole City was raised up anew, both in its publick Walls, and private Buildings. But the persons appointed by *Camillus* to recover and set out the consecrated places in that great confusion of all things, searching about the *Palatium*, and coming to that place which is called *Mars's Close*, it happened, that whilst they were clearing the place, and carrying away the rubbish, they lit upon *Romulus* his mazick Staff buried under great and deep heaps of Ashes. This Staff is crooked at one end, and is called *Lituus*. They make use of this *Lituus* in quartering out the Regions of the Heavens, when they are upon that sort of divination which is made by the flight of Birds; which *Romulus* himself also made use of, being most excellently skilled in Augury.

Rome con-
fusedly re-
built.

But when he disappeared from among Men, the Priests took the Staff, and kept it as other holy things, not to be touched or defiled. Now when they found that whereas all other things were consumed, this Staff was not in the least perished by the flames, they began to conceive joyful hopes concerning *Rome*, that this token did portend the everlasting safety and prosperity of it.

The Romans at the same time invaded by the Aequi, Latins and Tuscanas: And now they had scarce got a breathing time from their troubles, but a new War comes upon them, the *Aequi*, *Volsci* and *Latins* all at once invade their Territories, and the *Tuscans* besiege *Sutrium* a confederate City of the *Romans*. The Military Tribunes, who commanded the Army, and were encamped about the Hill *Martius*, being closely besieged by the *Latins*, and the Camp in danger to be lost, send to *Rome*, and *Camillus* is third time chosen *Dicitator*. About this War there are two different relations; I shall begin with the fabulous: They say that the *Latins* (whether out of pretence, or real design to re-unite the ancient blood of both Nations) should send to desire of the *Romans* some of their free Maids in Marriage. That the *Romans* being at a loss what to determine, (for on one hand they dreaded a War, having scarce settled and recovered themselves, on the other

other side they suspected that this asking of Wives was in plain terms nothing else but to gain Hostages, though he covered it over with the specious name of marriage (*stratagem and alliance*) a certain Handmaid, by name *Tutula*, or as some call her, *Philotis*, should persuade the Magistrates to send with her some of the most youthful and beautiful Damsels in the garb and dress of noble Virgins, and leave the rest to her care and management; that the Magistrates consenting should chuse out as many as she thought necessary for her purpose, and adorning them with Gold and rich Clothes, deliver them to the *Latins*, who encamped nigh the City: That at night the rest should steal away the Enemies Swords, but *Tutula* or *Philotis* (which you please) getting to the top of a wild Fig-tree, and spreading out a thick Garment behind her, should hold out a Torch towards *Rome*, which was the signal agreed on between her and the Commanders, none other of the Citizens perceiving it, which was the reason that the issuing out of the Souldiers was tumultuous, the Officers pushing their men on, and they calling upon one anothers names, and scarce able to bring themselves into any order, That setting upon the Enemies Works, who either were asleep or expected no such matter, they should take the Camp and destroy

most of them; and that this was done in the Nones of July, which was then called *Quintilis*, and that the Feast that is then observed, is in remembrance of this action; for first running out of the City in great crouds, they pronounce aloud the most familiar and usual names, as *Caius*, *Marcus*, *Lucius*, and the like, imitating thereby that calling to one another when they issued out in such haste. In the next place the Maid Servants richly adorned, run about playing and jesting upon all they meet, and amongst themselves use a kind of skirmishing, to shew they helped in the conflict against the *Latins*. In the time of their feasting they sit shaded over with Boughs of wild Fig-tree, and the day they call *Nona Capratinae*, as some think from that wild Fig-tree on which the Maiden held out her Torch; for the *Romans* call a wild Fig-tree *Caprificus*. Others refer most of what is said or done at this Feast, to that accident of *Romulus*; for on this day without the Gate he vanished out of sight, a sudden darkness, together with tempest overclouding him (some think it an Eclipse of the Sun) and for this reason the day was called *Nona Capratinae*, for they call a Goat *Capra*: and *Romulus* disappeared at a place called *Palus Capræ*, or *Goat Marsh*, whilst he was holding there an assembly, as in his

Nona Capratinae,
whence so
styled.

Life

Life it is written. But the general stream of Writers prefer the other account of this War, which they thus relate. *Camillus* being the third time chosen Dictator, and learning that the Army under the Tribunes was besieged by the *Latins* and *Volsces*, he was constrained to arm, not only the Youth, but even such as Age exempted from service; and taking a large compass round the Mountain *Martius*, undiscovered by the Enemy, he lodged his Army on their back, and then by many fires gave notice of his arrival. The besieged encouraged herewith, prepared to fall on and joyn battel; but the *Latins* and *Volsces*, fearing their Enemy on both sides, drew themselves within their Works, which they fortified with many Trees laid cross-wise, and drove into the ground, and so round their Camp drew a wall of Wood; resolving to wait for more supplies from home, and expect the assistance of the *Tuscani* their Confederates: *Camillus* perceiving their drift, and fearing to be reduced to the same straits he had brought them to, namely, to be besieged himself, resolved to lose no time; and finding their Rampier was all of Timber, and observing that a strong wind constantly at Sun-rising blew off from the Mountains, after having prepared much combustable stuff, about break

An eminent Example of a prudent military conduct in Camillus.

of

of day he drew forth his Forces; some of which he commanded to take their Darts, and with noise and shouting assault the Enemy on the other quarter, whilst he with those that were to fling in the fire, went to that side of the Enemies Camp on which the wind lay directly, and there waited his opportunity. When the skirmish was begun, and the Sun risen, and a violent wind fell down from the Mountains, he gave the signal of onset; and pouring in an infinite quantity of fiery matter, he filled all their Rampier with it, so that the flame being fed in the close Timber and wooden Pallisadoes, it went on and dispersed it self into all Quarters. The *Latins* having nothing ready to keep it off or extinguish it, the Camp being almost full of fire, were reduced to a very small compafs, and at last forced by necessity to fall into their Enemies hand, who stood before the Works ready armed and prepared to receive them; of these a very few escaped, but those that stayed in the Camp were all consumed by the fire, until such time the *Romans*, to gain the pillage, extinguished it. These things performed, *Camillus*, leaving his Son *Lucius* in the Camp to guard the Prisoners and secure the Booty, passed into his Enemies Country, where having taken the City of the *Æques*, and reduc'd the

He reduces the Æques and Vol-
secs.

the *Volsces* to obedience, he immediately led his Army to *Sutrium* (having not heard what had befallen the *Sutrians*) making haste to assist them, as if they were still in danger, and besieged by the *Tuscans*. But they had already surrendered their City to their Enemies ; and being destitute of all things, with their Garments only about them, they met *Camillus* on the way, leading their Wives and Children, and bewailing their misfortune. *Camillus* himself was struck with the object, and perceiving the *Romans* to weep, and grievously resent their case, (the *Sutrians* hanging on them) resolved not to defer revenge, but that very day to lead his Army to *Sutrium*. Conjecturing that the Enemy having just taken a rich and plentiful City, and not left an Enemy within it, nor expecting any from without, he should find them wallowing in all riot and luxury, open and unguarded. Neither did his opinion fail him, for he not only pass'd through their Country without discovery, but came up to their very Gates, and possessed himself of the Walls, there was not a man left to guard them, but every one was scattered about from house to house, drinking and making merry ; nay, when at last they did perceive that the Enemy had seized the City, they were so overcharged with Meat and

Sutrium
re-taken by
Camillus.

and Wine, that few were able so much as to endeavour an escape; but in the most shameful posture either waited for their death within doors, or if they were able to carry themselves, submitted to the will of the Conqueror. Thus the City of the *Sutriani* was twice taken in one day; and it came to pass, that they who were in possession lost it, and they who had lost their possession gained it again by the means of *Camillus*; for all which actions he received a triumph, which brought him no less honour and reputation than both the former; for those very Citizens, who before most envied and detracted from him, ascribing the rest of his successes to a certain hit of fortune rather than steady virtue, were compelled by these last acts of his, to allow the whole honour to the great abilities and industry of the man.

*Seniothni
tu. Leg-
sueo.
Marcus
Manlius by
indirect
means a-
spires to the
Govern-
ment.*

Of all his adversaries and enviers of his glory, *Marcus Manlius* was the most considerable; he who gave the first repulse to the Gauls, and drove them out that night they set upon the Capitol, for which he was surnamed *Capitolinus*. This man affecting the first place in the Commonwealth, and not able by the noblest ways to out-do *Camillus*'s reputation, took the trite and usual methods of Tyranny, namely, to gain the multitude, especially such as

as were in debt ; some he would defend against their Creditors and plead their Causes, others rescue by force and not suffer the Law to proceed against them, insomuch that in a short time he had gotten great numbers of indigent people about him ; who making tumults and uproars in the Courts, struck great terror into the principal Citizens. After that *Quintus Capitolinus*, who was made Dictator to examine into these disorders, had committed *Manlius* to prison, the people immediately changed their apparel, a thing never done but in great and publick calamities. The Senate fearing some tumult, ordered him to be released, who set at liberty was never the better, but rather more insolent in his practices, filling the whole City with his Faction and Sedition. Wherefore they chose *Camillus* again Military Tribune, and a day being set for *Manlius* to answer to his charge, the prospect of the place was a great hindrance to his accusers ; for the very place where *Manlius* by night fought with the Gauls over-look'd the Court from the Capitol, so that stretching forth his hands that way, and weeping, he called to their remembrance his past actions, raising compassion in all that beheld him. Insomuch that the Judges were at a loss what to do, and several times forced to adjourn the

the Trial, not willing to acquit him of the crime, proved by manifest circumstances, and yet unable to execute the Law, that noble action of his being always in their eyes by reason of the place. *Camillus* considering this, removed the Judgment Seat out of the Gate to the *Peteline Grove*, from whence there is no prospect of the Capitol. Here his accuser went on with his charge, and the Judges being now at liberty to consider of his late practices, he received a just recompence and reward of his wicked actions; for being carried to the Capitol he was flung headlong from the Rock, having the same place witness of his greatest glory, and monument of his most unfortunate end. The *Romans* besides rased his House, and built there a Temple to the Goddess they call *Moneta*; ordaining for the future that none of the Patrician Order should ever dwell in the Capitol Mount.

Camillus.
though unwilling,
chosen the
sixth time
Tribune.

And now *Camillus* being called to the sixth Tribuneship, desired to be excused, as being aged, and perhaps not unjealous of the malice of Fortune, and those unlucky changes which usually attend great and prosperous actions. But the most apparent pretence was the weakness of his Body, for he happened at that time to be sick, but the people would admit of no excuses, but crying that they wanted not his strength for

for Horse or for Foot service, but only his counsel and conduct, they constrained him to undertake the command, and with one of his fellow Tribunes to lead the Army immediately against the Enemy. These were the *Prænestines* and *Volsces*, who with great Forces wasted the Countries of the *Roman* Confederates. Having march'd out his Army, he sate down and encamped near the Enemy, meaning himself to draw out the War in length, or if there should be necessity or occasion of fighting, in the mean time to strengthen his Body for it. But *Lucius* his Colleague, carried away with the desire of Glory, was not to be held in, but impatient to give Battel, inflamed with the same eagerness the Captains and Colonels of the Army; so that *Camillus* fearing he might seem out of envy to rob the young men of the glory of a notable Exploit, gave way, though unwillingly, that he should draw out the Forces, whilst himself by reason of weaknes, staid behind with a few in the Camp. *Lucius* engaging rashly and headily was soon discomfited, when *Camillus* perceiving the *Romans* to give ground and fly, he could not contain himself, but leaping from his Bed, with those Servants and retinue he had about him, ran to meet them at the Gates of the Camp; and making his way through them that fled

Lucius's
inconsiderate engagement
retrieved
by Camillus.

fled, he drove furiously to oppose the pursuers ; insomuch that those who were got within the Camp presently turned back and followed him, and those that came flying from without, made head again, and gathered about him, exhorting one another not to forsake their General. Thus the Enemy for that time was stop'd in his pursuit. But the next day *Camillus* drawing out his Forces and joining Battel with them, overthrew them by main force, and following close upon them that fled, he entered pell mell with them into their Camp, and took it, slaying the greatest part of them. Afterwards having heard that the City *Sutrium* was taken by the *Tuscans*, and the Inhabitants all *Romans*, put to the Sword, the main body of his Forces, and heaviest arm'd, he sent home to *Rome*, and taking with him the lightest and best appointed Souldiers, he set suddenly upon the *Tuscans*, who were in the possession of the City, and having master'd them, some he drove out, others he slew, and so returning to *Rome* with great Spoils, he gave a signal evidence, that in point of Wisdom they were chiefly to be preferred, who not mistrusting the weakness and age of a Commander endued with Courage and Conduct, had rather chosen him who was Sickly, and desirous to be excused, than younger Men
Prudence in a Commander preferable to rash valour.

who

who were forward and ambitious to command. Wherefore when the revolt of the Tusculanes was reported, they gave *Camillus* the charge of reducing them, chusing one of his five Collegues to go with him. And now when every one of them put in earnestly for the place, contrary to the expectation of all, he past by the rest, and chose *Lucius Furius*, the very same man, who against the judgment of *Camillus*, by rashly hazzarding a Battel, had brought things to a dangerous and almost desperate condition; willing, as it should seem, to hide and dissemble that miscarriage, and divert the shame. The Tusculanes hearing of *Camillus* his coming ^{The Tusculanes their} a-politick disimulation. against them, sought cunningly to turn off the suspicion of their revolt. Their Fields, as in times of highest peace, were full of Plowmen and Shepherds; their Gates stood wide open, and their Children went publickly to School; as for the People, such as were Trades-men, he found them in their Shops, busied about their several employments; and the better sort of Citizens walking in the publick places in their usual Gowns and Formalities: The Magistrates very diligent and officious in running about and providing Quarters for the Romans, as if they stood in fear of no danger, and as though they had committed no fault at all. Which Arts, though they could not drive out of *Camillus* the cer-

tain opinion he had of their Treason, yet wrought in him a certain compassion for their repentance, so that he commanded them to go to the Senate and attone their anger, and himself became intercessour in their behalf, insomuch that their City was acquitted of all offences, and admitted into the freedom and priviledges of *Rome*. These were the most memorable actions of his sixth Tribuneship.

A dangerous Faction at Rome headed by Licinius Stolo.

After these things *Licinius Stolo* raised a great Sedition in the City, by which the people fell to dissention with the Senate, earnestly contending that of two Consuls one should be chosen out of the Commons, and not both out of the Nobility. *Tribunes of the people* were chosen, but the multitude violently opposed the election of Consuls; things through this dissention running into greater disorder, *Camillus* was the fourth time created Dictator by the Senate, sore against the will of the People; neither was he himself very forward to accept it, as being unwilling to oppose his Authority against those, who in many and great conflicts, had repos'd singular trust and confidence in him, and with whom he had done more things in military Affairs, than ever he had transacted with the Nobility in civil: that now he was pitch'd upon out of envy, that prevailing he might suppress the people; or failing, be supprest himself.

himself. However, to provide as good a remedy as he could for the present; knowing the day on which the *Tribunes of the people* intended to prefer the Law, at the same time he proclaimed a general muster, and called the People from the Market-place into the Field, threatening to set heavy fines upon such as should not readily obey. On the other side, the *Tribunes of the people* opposed themselves to his threats, solemnly protesting to fine him in 50000 Drachmas of Silver, if he persisted to hinder the people in giving their suffrages for the Law. Wherefore, either that he feared another banishment or condemnation, as not agreeable to his age, and misbecoming those great actions he had performed, or finding himself not able to stem the current of the Multitude, which ran with a strong and irresistible force for the present he betook himself to his House, and afterwards for some days together pretended indisposition of body, laid down his Dictatorship, and the Senate created another Dictator; who chusing *Stolo*, leader of this Sedition, to be *General of horse*, suffered that Law to take place, which was most grievous to the Nobility, namely, that no person whatsoever should possess above 500 Acres of Land. *Stolo* exceedingly triumphed in the conquest he had gained, till not long after, he was found himself to possess

Camillus
under bad
circumstan-
ces resigns
the Dia-
torschip.

self more than he allowed unto others, and so suffered the penalties of his own Law. And now the contention about election of Consuls coming on (which of all other dissensions was the sharpest, and from its first beginning had administered most matter of division between the Senate and the People) certain intelligence arrives that the *Gauls*

The second invasion of the Gauls. again proceeding from the *Adriatick Sea*, marched directly towards *Rome*, and upon the very heels of the report manifest acts of hostility are related : that the Country through which they marched was all wasted, and such as by flight could not make their escape to *Rome*, were dispersed and scattered among the Mountains. The terroure of this War quieted the Sedition, so that the Nobility conferring with the Commons, and both joyning Councils, unanimously chose *Camillus* the fifth time *Dictator*, Who, though very ancient, as not wanting much of fourscore years, yet considering the danger and necessity of his Country, did not as before, pretend sickness or other excuse, but readily undertook the charge, and listed his Souldiers : And knowing that the force of the *Barbarians* lay chiefly in their Swords,

Camillus's extraordinary provisions for the War. with which they laid about them in a rude and unskilful manner, hacking and hewing the Head and Shoulders ; he caused iron Murrions to be made for most of his Men, smoothing

moothing and polishing the outside, that the Enemies Swords lighting upon them might either slide off, or be broken ; and round about their Shields he drew a little rim of Brass, the Wood it self being not sufficient to bear off the blows. Besides, he taught his Souldiers in close engaging, to use long Javelins or punchion Staves, which holding under their Enemies Swords would receive the force and violence of them. When the *Gauls* drew nigh about the River *Anien*, dragging a heavy Camp after them, and loaden with infinite Spoil, *Camillus* drew forth his Forces, and planted himself upon a Hill of easie ascent, and which had many hollow places in it, to the end that the greatest part of his Army might be concealed, and those few which appeared might be thought through fear to have betaken themselves to those upper grounds. And the more to encrease this opinion in them, he suffered them without any disturbance to spoil and pillage even to his very Trenches, keeping himtself quiet within his Works, which were well fortified on al sides : At last, perceiving that part of the Enemy were scattered about the Country a forraging, and having advice that those that were in the Camp did nothing day and night but drink and revel, in the night-time he drew forth his lightest-armed men

The Gauls
upon two
accounts
disheartened.

and sent them before to observe and watch the Enemy, and to be ready to hinder them from drawing into order, and to vex and discompose them when they should first issue out of their Trenches ; and early in the morning, he brought down his main Body, and set them in battel-array in the lower grounds, being a numerous and courageous Army ; whereas the *Barbarians* had taken them for an inconsiderable and fearful party. The first thing that abated the pride and courage of the *Gauls*, was, that they were to fight when they least expected it, and that their Enemies had the honour of being aggressours. In the next place, the light-armed men falling upon them before they could get into their usual order, or range themselves in their proper squadrons, did so force and press upon them, that they were obliged to fight confusedly and at random without any discipline at all. But at last, when *Camillus* brought on his heavy-armed Legions, the *Barbarians* with their Swords drawn, went vigorously to engage them ; but the *Romans* opposing with their Javelins, and receiving the force of their blows on that part of their Shield which was well guarded with steel, they turned the edge of their Weapons, being made of a soft and ill tempered metal, insomuch that their Swords immediately bent

in

in their hands, and stood crooked to the Hilts ; as, for their Bucklers, they were pierced through and through, and grown so heavy with the Javelins that stuck upon them, that forced to quit their own Weapons, they endeavoured to make advantage of those of their Enemies ; so that gathering up the Javelins in their hands, they began to return them upon the *Romans*.

But the *Romans* perceiving them naked and unarm'd, presently betook themselves to their Swords, which they so well used, that in a little time great slaughter was made in the foremost ranks, and the rest of them fled, dispersing themselves all over the Champain Country ; for as for the Hills and upper Grounds, *Camillus* had before-hand possessed himself of them, and they knew it would not be difficult for the Enemy to take their Camp, seeing through confidence of victory they had left it unguarded. They say this Fight was thirteen years after the sacking of *Rome*, and that from henceforwad the *Romans* took Courage, and laid aside those dismal apprehensions they had conceived of the Barbarians; thinking now that their first defeat was rather the effect of sickness, and the strange concurrence of evil chances, than the steady courage or true force of their Enemy. And indeed this fear had been formerly so great,

They are
vanquish'd
by the Ro-
mans.

that they made a Law, *That Priests should be excused from war-like service, unless in an Invasion from the Gauls.* This was the last military Action that ever *Camillus* performed; for as for the City of the *Veturiani*, it was but a by accession to this Victory, it being surrendered unto him without any resistance. But the greatest contention in civil Affairs, and the hardest to be managed against the People, was still remaining; for they returning home full of Victory and Success, violently insisted, contrary to the ancient Custom, to have one of the Consuls chosen out of their own body. The Senate strongly opposed it, and would not suffer *Camillus* to lay down his Dictatorship, thinking that under the shelter of his great name and authority they should be better able to contend for the power of the Nobility.

The Tribunes their rude deportment toward Camillus. When *Camillus* was sitting upon the Tribunal, dispatching publick affairs, an Officer sent by the *Tribunes of the People*, commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his hand upon him, as ready to seise and carry him away; upon which such a noise and tumult followed in the Assembly, the like was never heard of before; some that were about *Camillus* thrusting the People from the Bench, and the multitude below calling out to pull him down: Being at a loss what to do in this

this exigent of affairs, yet he laid not down his authority, but taking the Senatours along with him, he went to the Senate-House ; but before he entred, he besought the Gods that they would bring these Troubles to a happy conclusion, solemnly vowed, when the Tumult was ended, to build a Temple to *Concord*. A great contest arising in the Senate, by reason of contrary Opinions , at last the most moderate and agreeable to the People prevailed, which yielded, that of two Consuls, one of them should be chosen of the Commonalty. When the Dictator had proclaimed this determination of the Senate to the People, they were immediately (as it could not otherwise be) pleased and reconcil'd with the Senate; and for *Camillus*, they accompanied him home, with all the expressions and acclamations of joy ; and the next day being assembled together, they voted a ^{The Temple of Concord why and when first erected ed.} Temple of *Concord* to be built according to *Camillus* his vow, facing the Assembly and Market-place ; and to those Feasts which are called *Latins*, they added one day more, making them four Festivals in all ; and for the present they ordained that the whole People of *Rome* should Sacrifice with Garlands on their heads. In the election of Consuls held by *Camillus*, *M. Emilius* was chosen of the Nobility, and *Lucius Sextius* the

the first of the Commonalty; and this was
the last of all *Camillus's Actions*. In the
year following a pestilential sickness infected
Rome, which besides an infinite number
of the common sort, swept away most of
the Magistrates, among whom was *Camil-
lus*. Whose death cannot be called imma-
ture, if we consider his great Age, or greater
Actions; yet was he more lamented than
all the rest put together, that then died of
that Distemper.

The End of Camillus's Life.

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PERICLES.



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THE
L I F E
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P E R I C L E S.

Translated from the Greek,
By *Adam Littleton*, D. D.

CÆsar on a time seeing belike some Strangers at *Rome*, who were People of Quality, carrying up and down with them in their Arms and Bosoms young Puppy-dogs and Monkeys, and hugging and making much of them, took occasion to ask, whether the Women in their Country were not used to bear Children; by that Prince-like reprimand gravely reflecting upon such persons, who spend and

A moral introduction.

and lavish that affection and kindness, which Nature hath implanted in us, upon bruit Beasts, which is due and owing to humane Creatures, those of our own kind. Now inasmuch as even the Whelps and Cubs of Dogs and Apes have a kind of inclination to learning and knowledge, and love to look about them, and to take notice of things, the Soul of Man hath by Nature a higher principle of Reason, so as to find fault with those who make ill use of that inclination and desire upon idle discourses and sights that deserve no regard, while in the mean time they carelessly pass by good and profitable things of that sort.

The advantage of Understanding above Sense.

For indeed as to the outward *Sense*, that being passive in receiving the impression of those objects that come in its way and strike upon it, it is peradventure necessary for it (*the Sense*) to entertain and take notice of every thing that appears to it, be it what it will, useful or unuseful: but every man, if he will make use of his *Understanding*, hath a natural power to turn himself upon all occasions, and to change and shift with the greatest ease to what shall seem to himself most fit. So that a Man ought to pursue and make after the best and choicest of every thing, that he may not only employ his contemplation, but may also be nourished and improved by it. For as that Colour is

is most grateful and agreeable to the *Eye*, whose lively freshness together with its pleasure and delightfulness revives and cherishes the sight; so a Man ought to apply his mind and reasoning to such objects and notices, as with delight are apt to call it forth and allure it to its own proper good and peculiar advantage.

Now these objects and notices are to be met with in those works and performances which proceed from *Virtue*, which do also infuse and beget in the minds of Readers, whilst they converse with the bare stories and narratives of them, a kind of emulation and forward chearfulness, which may lead them along and draw them on to an imitation. Forasmuch as in other things of another nature there doth not immediately follow upon the admiration and liking of the thing done any strong desire of doing the like. Nay many times on the very contrary, when we are pleased with the Work, we slight and set little by the Workman or Artist himself: as for instance, in Perfumes and Purple dyes, we are taken with the things themselves well enough, but we look but meanly upon Dyers and Perfumers, as a sort of pitiful Tradesmen and sorry Mechanicks. Whereupon it was not amiss said by *Antisthenes*, when people told him that one *Ismenias* was an excellent Fidler

*which doth
not happen
in things of
Art or Skill*

Fidler or Piper; It may be so, said he, but he is but a wretched paltry Fellow for all that: for otherwise he would not have been so excellent a Fidler; meaning that he would have found some better busines to have employ'd himself about than fidling and piping. And King Philip to the same purpose told his Son *Alexander*, who once at a merriment had sung with great pleasure and skill, *Are not you ashamed, Son, to sing so well? For it is enough for a King or Prince to find leisure sometimes to hear others sing; and he does the Muses no small honour, when he pleases to be but present at such exercises and trials of skill.* Now he who busies himself in mean employs, doth but bring that pains he takes about things of little or no use, as an evidence against himself of his negligence and slothful indisposition to virtuous and useful practices. Nor would any generous and ingenuous young man, who should behold the Statue of *Jupiter*, which stands in the City *Pisa*, desire to be a *Phidias*, or that of *Juno* in the City *Argos*, to be a *Polyclete*, (the Workmen of those Statues,) or to be as good a Poet as *Anacreon* or *Philemon* or *Archilochus*, who had been delighted in reading of their Poems. For it doth not necessarily follow, that if a piece of Work please for its gracefulness; therefore he that wrought it deserves

serves our regard not envy. Whence it is that neither do such things profit or advantage the beholders, upon the sight whereof there doth not arise a zeal which may put them upon imitation, nor an impulse or inclination, which may move a desire and raise an endeavour of doing the like. But in sooth it is *Vertue*, which doth presently by the bare proposal of its actions so dispose men, that they do at once both admire the things done, and desire to imitate the doers of them. For as to the goods of *Fortune*, *A Comparison betwixt the goods of Fortune, and those of Vertue.* we are fond of the possession and enjoyment of them; but as to those of *Vertue*, we are in love with the practice and exercise of them: and those we are content to receive from others, but these we had much rather our selves to impart and communicate to others. For that which is honest and virtuous, doth by a practical force move men toward it self, and doth instantly infuse into them a strong inclination to practice, moralizing and influencing the beholder, not with imitation, but with the History of the thing done, exciting and stirring up his resolution to do it.

Wherefore we also have thought fit to *The reason of the Parallel.* spend our time in pains, and to continue them on in writing of the *Lives* of Famous Persons; and we have composed this *Tenth Book* upon that Subject, wherein are contained

tained the Life of *Pericles* and that of *Fabi*
lius Maximus, (who managed and carried
on the War against *Hannibal*) men alike,
as in their other virtues and good parts, so
especially in their mild and upright temper
and demeanour, and in their being able to
bear the cross-grain'd humours and foolish
carriages of their fellow Citizens the Com-
moners, and their fellow Rulers, who sha-
red with them in the charge of the Govern-
ment; by which means they became both
of them very useful and serviceable to the
interests of their Countries. Whether
we do take a right aim at our intended
purpose, it is left to the Reader to judge
by those things he shall here find set
down.

Pericles
*his Extra-
tion.*

For as to *Pericles*, he was of that Tribe
or Ward in *Athens* called *Acamantis*, and
of that Company or Society of people cal-
led *Cholagria*, and one of the chiefest Fa-
milies and descents of the whole City both
on his Father's and Mother's side. For
Xanthippus his Father, he who defeated the
King of *Perisia* his Lieutenant-Generals in
the Battel at *Mycale*, took to Wife *Agariste*
the Niece or Grand-child of *Clisthenes*, who
like a brave Man as he was, drove out the
race of *Pisistratus*, and dissolv'd and de-
stroyed their Tyrannical Usurpation, and
moreover made a body of Laws, and settled
such

such a model of Government as was excellently well tempered and suited for the agreement and safety of the People.

She (his Mother) being near her time ^{His Mo-}
fancied in a Dream that she was brought ^{ther's}
to bed of a Lion, and within a few days ^{dream.}
after was delivered of *Pericles*, in other respects as to the shape of his Body without fault; onely his Head was somewhat longish and disproportioned. For which reason it was that almost all the Images and Statues that were made of him, have the Head covered with a Helmet: the Workmen belike not being willing to expose him by shewing his deformity. But the Poets ^{The Wits} of Athens plaid upon him, and called him ^{play upon} ^{his Head.} Σχινοcephalus, *Schinocephalus*, that is, Onion-pate, or *Squill-pate*. For that which in common language goes by the name of Σκίλλα, a Squill or Sea-Onion, the Atticks do in their Dialect sometimes term Σκῖνος, *Schinon*. And one of their Comick Poets *Charinus* in his Play called *Chirones*, that is to say, *The Rascality*, or *The worser sort of people*, says thus of him,

*Old Chrone his Sire and Fa'ction his Dam
In mutual embraces got this Sham;
The greatest Tyrant that we read of all.
Whom Gods above Holt-head or Joller call:*

And again in another Play of his called *Nemesis*, or *The Revenge*, he in this manner bespeaks him,

*Advance thou Jove to entertain thy Guests,
And bring thy blessed Logger-head to th' Feasts.*

And *Teleclides* another of those Poets saith in mockery of him, that one while

*Puzzled with nice affairs of State and Town,
His grout-Head being overset hangs down.*

And that another while

*Onely from that long overgrowing Pate
There doth arise much trouble to the State.*

And *Eupolis* a third Poet in a Comedy of his called *Demi*, that is, *The People of the Borroughs*, making inquiry concerning every one of the *Demagogues* or Leading-men, whom he makes in the Play to come up from Hell, as *Pericles* comes to be named last, he replies,

*Why in the Devil's name 'mongst all the Dead
That lie below, has brought us up the Head?*

His Musick Master. The Master that taught him Musick, most Authors are agreed was one *Damon*; (whose

(whose name they say ought to be pronounced with the first syllable short.) Though Aristotle tells us that he was thoroughly practised to Musick with one Pythoclides. And as to Damon, it is not unlikely, that he being a shrewd cunning Sophister as he was, did out of policy shelter himself under the name and profession of a Musick-master, on-purpose to conceal from the vulgar his subtlety and skill in State-affairs. So that under this pretence he attended Pericles to instruct him in Politicks, and to teach him the mysteries of Government, in the same manner as the Anointer or Master in a Fencing School useth to wait upon a young Scholar that learns to Wrestle. Yet for all that Damon did not so escape publick notice, how he made use of his Lyre or Harp for a covert and blind of another design, but that he was banished the Country by Ostracism for ten years, as a bigotted intermedler in the Government, and one that favoured arbitrary Power; and by this means gave the Stage occasion to play upon him. As for instance; Plato one of those Play-wrights brought in a person putting the question to him, (under the name of Chiron, who had been Achilles his Tutor likewise in Musick) in this manner,

*First I beseech thee, tell me, if thou can :
For, Chiron, thou, they say, bredst up the Man.*

meaning Pericles.

*His Philo-
sophy Rea-
der.*

Moreover Pericles did by snatches and by the by hear several Lectures of *Zeno Eleates*, who discoursed and treated of natural Philosophy much at the same rate as *Parmenides* did ; onely that he had by exercise and practice gotten a kind of habit or knack of confuting any opinion right or wrong, and of baffling people by thwarting and opposing whatsoever they said, and so running them aground that they did not know which way to turn themselves. And accordingly *Timon the Phliasian* hath given the account of him in this pair of Verses,

*Zeno's great force, who spoke to either part :
Confuted all, and never fail'd in's Art.*

*His chief
Tutor.*

But he that was most conversant with *Pericles*, and furnished him most especially with a weight and grandeur of Sense, and a more grave and solid research of those Arts by which the Populace is to be managed, and in the main heightned his Spirit, and advanced the majesty and grace of his address and deportment, was *Anaxagoras* the

the *Clazomenian*: whom the men of those times called by the name of *Nos*, *Nous*, that is, Mind or *Understanding*, whether in admiration of his great and extraordinary skill and knowledge, as it clearly appeared to be, in the affairs of Nature, or whether it were because that he was the first of the Philosophers, who did not commit the Government of the World to Fortune or *Chance*, nor to Fatal *Necessity*, as the principle of that order we find things in; but preferr'd to the rule and manage of all other things, that are jumbled and huddled together, a pure and clear *Understanding*, which sifts and culls out the parts alike from amidst those confusions.

This man *Pericles* did extraordinarily esteem and admire, and being fill'd up to the brim with that they call lofty way of speaking and discoursing as it were on tip-toe, he not only was, as we may judge, master of brave and bold resentments, and of such a strain of harangue as was high in it self, and free from the taint of plebeian prate, and lewd knavish buffoonry: but also beside that, the very air of his Face and composure of his Countenance grave, and not any way moved to laughter, and the gentleness and slowness of his pace and gate, and the decent ordering of his Apparel, so that no accident could discompose him in

the delivery of himself, and the even undisturbed fashioning and tuning of his voice, and whatever other the like advantages he had, did make wonderful impressions even to astonishment in all persons that either saw or heard him.

*An instance
of his pati-
ence.* See but his patience and greatness of mind! One time being reviled and ill spoken of all day long in his own hearing by a villainous and ill-tongu'd Rascal that cared not what he said, he bore it patiently all along, without returning him one word; all this in the open Court or the Assembly of the people, where he was at the same time ingaged in the prosecution and dispatch of some weighty urgent affair. In the evening he went home in very good order, as one unconcerned, this Fellow dogging him at the heels, and pelting him all the way he went with all the hard words and Billingsgate language he could rake up. As he was ready to go into his House, it being by this time dark, he ordered one of his Servants to take a light, and to go along with the man and see him safe home: which was all the notice he took of him.

*His defence
against
Ion's cen-
sure.* Now *Ion* the Poet saith that *Pericles* his converse and carriage in company was haughty and surly, superb and full of huff, and that he had a great deal of slightingness and scorn of others intermixt with his state and

and high thoughts of himself; and on the other hand he commends *Cimon's* exact civility and easie compliance and gentle well-fashioned behaviour at every turn in all his conversations. Well! but let us leave *Ion* to himself, who seems to take it for granted, that Vertue hath by all means somewhat of the Satyrical part in it, as Tragedy hath: but as for those who miscalled *Pericles* his gravity by the name of an affected ostentation and grandeur of state, *Zeno* advised such persons, that they also would try to effect the like garb of greatness, inasmuch as the very counterfeiting and aping of good qualities doth in time by stealth procure and beget a kind of emulation for those things, and a familiarity with them.

Nor were these the onely advantages which *Pericles* had of *Anaxagoras* his acquaintance and keeping him company; but he seemed also to be advanced by his instructions far above all that superstition, whatever it is, which as to Meteors and the like strange Appearances doth with frightful apprehensions possess the minds of people, who are ignorant of the true causes, by which such effects are naturally produced, and are mad as if the Devil were in them, and in great agony and disorder upon occasion of these divine Prodigies by

*Another
advantage
of his edu-
cation.*

reason of their ignorance and want of skill about them: which ignorance natural reason discharging and freeing men from, instead of a dreadful and unquiet troublesome superstition, works in them a free and generous devotion, together with good hopes and kindly assurances.

*A Prodigy
of a Ram
with one
Horn.*

*The mean-
ing of it.*

*The reason
of it.*

There is a story that on a time Pericles had brought him from a Country-farm of his a Ram's Head with one Horn, and that Lampon a Diviner or Fortune-teller, upon seeing the Horn grow strong and firm out of the midst of the Fore-head, gave this for his judgment, that there being at that time two potent Factions, Parties or Interests, in the City, the one of Thucydides and the other of Pericles, the Government would come about to that one of them, in whose Ground or Estate this token or indication of fate had happened: But that Anaxagoras, when he had clest the Skull in funder, shew'd to the standers by that the brain had not fill'd up its pan or natural place, but being sharp, of an oval figure, had roll'd it self together, from all parts of the Vessel which contained it, in a point to that place, from whence the root of the Horn took its rise: which was the reason it grew single. And that for that time Anaxagoras was much admired, for the

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the account he gave by those that were present at the operation ; and *Lampon* no less a little while after, when *Thucydides* being cuted and laid aside, all affairs of the State and Government came intirely into *Pericles* his hands and menage.

And yet in my opinion it is no absurdity to say that they were both in the right, the natural Philosopher and the Fortune-teller, the one so luckily hitting upon the cause of this event, by which it was produced ; the other upon the end, for which it was designed. For it was the business of the *one* to find out and give account, out of what it was made, and in what manner and by what means it grew as it did ; and of the *other* to foretell to what end and purpose it was so made and what it might mean or portend. Now as to those who say that to find out the cause of such prodigious events is in effect to destroy any signification they may be supposed to have ; these Men do not take notice, that at the same time together with divine Prodigies (the tokens of God's pleasure or displeasure) they defeat and render of no use those signs and marks which are contrived by art ; such as are for instance, the clashings and clatterings of Quoits or Trenchers, and the lights of Watch-towers along the Seaside, and the shadows of the Pins of Sundials ;

*The cause
and end of
Prodigies
ought both
to be beed-
ed.*

dials; every of which things is made by some cause and contrivance to be a sign of some other thing. But these are subject that peradventure would better befit some other consideration than what we are now upon.

His resemblance of Pisistratus. Now *Pericles*, being yet but a young Man stood in great awe of the People, and was mightily afraid of giving them any occasion of offence: for as much as he appear'd in shape and feature to be very like the Tyrant *Pisistratus*, and the grave Seniors of the Town, who remember'd that Man, when they took notice of the sweetnes of this Man's voice, and the volubility and readiness of his tongue in discoursing were struck into amazement at the mere resemblance of this to the other. But he considering that he had a very fair Estate, and was descended of a noble Family as any, and had store of Friends who bore the greatest sway, was so far from trusting to these advantages, that he apprehended they might procure him to be banished as a dangerous person; and for this reason he meddled not at all with State-affairs, but in the services of War he shew'd himself a brave Man, and one who with undaunted courage would expose himself upon all occasions.

But

But as soon as *Aristides* was dead, and *Themistocles* turn'd out of the Saddle, and seeing that *Cimon* was for the most part kept abroad by those expeditions he made in foreign Parts out of *Greece*, then did *Pericles* seeing things in this posture apply himself to the State, instead of the rich and the few great Dots, making choice of such matters and caules wherein the common people and poorer sort were concern'd, and sided with them; which was a thing somewhat beside his natural temper, for he was not of himself given to popularity or mean compliances. But, as it is very likely, fearing he might by reason of those advantages we mention'd fall under a suspicion and jealousy of setting up for Kingship or Arbitrary Power, and seeing how *Cimon* courted the Aristocracy or chief Men of the Government, and was mightily beloved by all honest Men and People of fashion, he took another way to the wood, and shelter'd himself among the crowd and herd of the common people: By which means he did at once both secure himself and procure an interest to serve him, when time should be, against *Cimon*.

And besides presently upon his application to State-affairs, he took a quite different course from what others and himself had used, as to his order of life and management

ment of himself. For he was never seen to walk in any street or way at *Athens*, but onely that which led to the Court or Town-hall, where the People assembled, and to the Senate or Parliament House, where the Lords sate in Council; and he avoided and left off the invitations of Friends to supper, and all such kind of friendly treatment and neighbourly acquaintance: so that in all the time he had to do with the publick, which was not a little, he was never known to have gone to any of his Friends to a supper; onely once and that was at a Wedding, when his near Kinsman *Euryptolemus*, his Sister's Son, married, he staid till the ceremony of the Drink-offering, and then immediately rose from Table and went his way. For these friendly Meetings and Treats are shrewd things to get the upper-hand of an affected greatness, and are apt to discompose a starcht gravity and put it out of countenance; nor can the solemnity of a Man's reputation be well preserv'd and maintain'd by ordinary converse

*Virtue free
and open.* and familiarity. And yet in that which is true and genuine virtue, those things appear the fairest, which are most apparent and least reserv'd; and there is not of good and brave Men any thing so fit to be admired by Strangers, as their daily life and conversation is by those of their Family and who

who keep them continual company. But our States-man here to avoid the throng and glut of the People, did as it were by intervals, by snatches and fits, come among them, not speaking to every business, nor at all times coming into the Assembly, but (as *Critolaus* saith the *Athenians* did with the three-oar'd Galley of *Salamis*,) reserving himself for great things, other matters of lesser importance he dispatch'd by Friends or by other Counsellors at the Bar his Cronies. And of this number we are told *Ephialtes* made one, he who broke up the power of the *Areopagites*, the Council that sat on *Mars* his Hill, and by that means (according to *Plato's* expression) gave the Citizens a large and racy draught of liberty, which set the People so a gog, as the Play-wrights inform us, that like a wild unruly Horse, that had flung his Rider, they would be ruled no longer, but champed and bit *Eubaea*, and flounced and curvetted upon the other Isles.

Ephialtes
*a Friend of
his.*

Now *Pericles* designing to suit the gravity of his life and the greatness of his spirit and sense with a befitting character of speech, he to put that as it were a musical instrument in tune, put his Tutor *Anaxagoras* often upon the stretch, and by a kind of Bow-dy gloss set off those accounts he gave

*His Rhetorick or way
of expressing him-
self.*

gaye of Nature with artificial Rhetorick. For having beside his great natural parts by the study of Nature attained this height of understanding and ability of turning and winding every thing to his own purpose (to use the words of divine *Plato*) and drawing whatever might be of advantage into the Art of speaking, he got the start of all others by much.

Why called Olympius. Upon which account they say he had the surname or nickname of *Olympius* given him, (the same title that *Jupiter* himself was called by;) though some are of opinion he was so named for those famous works and publick buildings, wherewith he adorn'd the City, others would have him so called from the great power he had in publick affairs whether of War or Peace. Nor is it unlikely or absurd to imagine, that from the confluence of those many good qualities which belonged to the Man himself, the glory of such a Title might be conferred upon him. However the Comedies of the then Masters of the Stage, who both in good earnest and out of merriment too, let fly many shrewd words at him, do plainly shew that he got that appellation especially upon the account of his being an able Speaker, by saying that he thunder'd and lightned, when he harangued the People, and that he carried a dreadful Thunderbolt in his Tongue.

There

There is a saying also of *Thucydides* the Milesian stands on record, spoken by him pleasantly enough upon *Pericles* his shrewdness of speech. For *Thucydides* was a person among them of great credit and repute, and one who had for a very long time banished against *Pericles* in the Government. Now when *Archidamus* the King of the Lacedemonians asked him, whether he or *Pericles* were the better Wrestler, he made this answer; *When I, saith he, have thrown him and given him a fair fall, he by standing out in the denial saying that he had no fall gets the better of me, and persuades people into a belief of what he says whether they will or no, though they saw the quite contrary.*

Howbeit the truth of it is, that *Pericles* himself was very wary and careful what and how he was to speak, insomuch that always whenever he went up to the Tribunal or into the Pulpit to deliver himself, he prayed to the Gods, that no one word might unawares against his will slip from him, which should be misbecoming or unsuitable to the matter in hand and the occasion he was to speak to.

Indeed he hath left nothing in writing behind him, save only some popular Decrees or Ordinances. And there are but few in all of his notable Sayings which are recorded;

*Some of his
notable
Sayings.*

recorded ; as this for one, that he gave order that they would take away the City and Isle of *Aegina* (then possest by the Enemy) as an Eye-sore from the *Piræum*, a port of *Athens* ; and this for another, that he fancied he saw a War coming along towards them out of *Peloponnesus* (now called the *Morea*.) Again, when on a time *Sophocles*, who was his fellow-commissioner in the Generalship, was going on board with him, and praised the beauty of a Boy they met with in the way to the Ship, *Sophocles*, saith he, *a General ought not only to have clean hands, but eyes too*; meaning that a person in such an office and charge should not give way even to the temptations of sight. And moreover *Stesimbrotus* hath this passage of him, that as he was in an encomiastick Oration speaking of those who fell in the battel at *Samos*, he said they were grown immortal, as the Gods were. For, said he, we do not see them themselves, but only by those honours we pay them, and by those good things which they do enjoy, we guess and judge them to be immortal. And the very same case it is, went he on, with those that dye in the service and defence of their Country.

An account of his Politicks. Now whereas *Thucydides* makes such a description of *Pericles* his Aristocratical

government, that it went by the name of a Democracy, but was indeed a government by a single person, to wit under the conduct and at the pleasure of one man who was chief; and many others say that by him the common people was first brought on and led along to the sharing of Lands by lot, taken from the Enemy, and to the dividing of publick moneys (formerly reserved for the uses of War) to be allowed them for seeing of Plays and Shows, and to distributions of Salaries, by which means being ill accustomed, of a sober, modest, thrifty people, that maintained themselves by their own labours, they became riotous and debauched through the methods of policy then used; let us consider the cause of this change in the things themselves as to matter of fact.

For indeed at the first (as hath been said) when he set himself against Cimon's great authority, he did caress the people what he could, and underhand curry favour with them. But finding himself come short of his Competitor in wealth and moneys, by which advantages the other was enabled to take care of the poor, inviting every day some one or other of the Citizens that was in want to supper, and bestowing cloaths on the aged people, and breaking down the hedges and inclosures of Grounds,
His rival.
King of Cimon.

the intent that all that would freely gather what fruit they pleased ; *Pericles* being snubb'd and kept under by these popular arts, did by the advice of one *Demonides Iensis*, turn himself to the distribution of

His disposal of publick moneys among the people. the publick moneys, as *Aristotle* hath told the story ; and in a short time having decoy'd and won the people, what with those moneys allowed for Shows and for Courts of Justice, and what with other bribes and largesses and supplies, he made use of these

His design against the Council of Areopagus. methods against the Council of *Areopagus*, of which he himself was no member, as having not been chosen by lot, either Annual Magistrate, or Guardian of the Laws, or King that is Governour of the sacred Rites, nor Chieftain of the Wars. For of old these Offices were conferr'd on persons by lot, and they who had acquitted themselves well in the discharge of these trusts were advanced and taken into the Court of *Areopagus*. Whereupon *Pericles* having gotten so great a power and interest with the Populace, imbroiled and routed this Council, so that most of those Causes and Matters which had been used to be tried there were through *Ephialtes* his assistance discharged from the cognisance of that Court,

He procures Cimon to be banished. and *Cimon* was banished by Ostracism, upon pretence of his being a favourer of the *Lacedæmonians*, and a hater of his own people of

of *Athens*, notwithstanding that he was one who came behind none of them all for greatness of estate and nobleness of birth, and that he had won several famous and signal Victories upon the Barbarians, and with a great deal of monies and other spoils of war taken from them had mightily enriched the City; as in the history of his *Life* hath been set down. So vast an authority had *Pericles* gotten among the People.

The *Ostracism*, or banishment by Shells, I mentioned (which they us'd in such Trials) was limited by Law to ten years, during which term the person banished was not to return. But the *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time making an inroad with a great Army on the Country of *Tanagra*, (which lay upon the Attick borders;) and the *Athenians* going out against them with their forces, *Cimon* coming from his banishment before his time was out, put himself in arms and array with those of his Fellow-citizens that were of his own Tribe, and resolved by his deeds to wipe off that false accusation of his favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, by venturing his own person along with his Country-men. But *Pericles* his Friends gathering in a body together drove him away as one under the sentence of exile, and forced him to retire. For which

After a
battel with
the Lacedæmonians,

cause also Pericles seems to have laid about him the more, behaving himself very valiantly and stoutly in the fight, and to have been the gallantest man among them all in the action of that day, having exposed himself to all hazard and hardship. All Cimon's Friends also to a man fell together in that Battel, whom Pericles had impeached as well as him of taking part with the Lacedæmonians.

*wherein
the Athe-
nians had
the worst.*

And now the Athenians heartily repented them for what they had done to Cimon, and long'd to have him home again, being in the close of this Fight beaten and worsted upon the confines and borders of their own Country, and expecting a sore War to come upon them next Spring or Summer Season. All which Pericles being sensible of did not boggle or make any delay to gratify the peoples desire, but having wrote an Edict or Order for that purpose himself re-call'd the man home. And he upon his return concluded a peace betwixt the two Cities : for the Lacedæmonians had a respect and kindness for him, as on the contrary they hated Pericles and the rest of the Demagogues or Peading-men.

*He and Ci-
mon recon-
ciled upon
Terms*

Yet some there are do say that Pericles did not write that Edict or order for Cimon's revocation and return, till some private Articles of agreement had been made be-

between them, and that by means of *Elpinice*, *Cimon's Sister*. Which were that *Cimon* should go out to Sea with a Fleet of two hundred Ships, and should be Commander in chief of all the Forces abroad, with a design to harrass and lay waste the King of *Perisia's Countries and Dominions*, and that *Pericles* should have the power at home and govern in the City.

This *Elpinice*, it is thought, had before this time procured some favour for her Brother *Cimon* at *Pericles* his hands, and made him more remiss and gentle in drawing up and setting home the charge, when *Cimon* being tried for his life escaped the Sentence of death, and was only banished. For *Pericles* was one of the Committee appointed by the Commons to implead him. And when *Elpinice* made her applications to him, and besought him in her Brother's behalf, he with a smile in merriment said, *O Elpinice, you are too old a Woman to undertake such busineses as this is.* Moreover when he came to the Bar to impeach him, he stood up but once to speak, as if he made slight of his commission, playing booty as it were, and went out of Court, having done *Cimon* the least prejudice of any of his Accusers.

How then can one believe *Idomeneus*, who charges *Pericles*, as if he had by trea-

He is cleared from the suspicion of Philo-

chery contriv'd and order'd the murther of *Ephialtes* the Demagogue or Counsellor of State, one who was his Friend and of his Party in the menage of the Government ; out of a jealousy forsooth, saies he, and an envy of his great reputation. This Historian, it seems, having raked up these Stories I know not out of what Kennel, has thrown them up like vomiting stuff to bespatter this worthy Man, one who per chance was not altogether free from fault or blame, but yet was one who had a generous noble spirit, and a Soul that affected and courted honour ; and where such qualities are, there can no such cruel and brutal passion find harbour or gain admittance. But as to *Ephialtes*, the truth of the Story, as *Aristotle* hath told it, is this, that having made himself formidable to the *Oligarchists* (those who would have all the Power lodged in some few hands) by being a severe asserter of the peoples rights, in calling to account and prosecuting those who any way injured them, his Enemies lying in wait for him, did, by the means or help of *Aristodicus* the *Tanagrian*, privately rid themselves of him and dispatcht him out of the way.

After Ci-
mon's
death.

Now *Cimon* while he was Admiral ended his days in the Isle of *Cyprus*. And the *Aristocrations* (those who were for the

No-

Nobless) seeing that *Pericles* was already even formerly grown to be the greatest and formost man of all the City, and being withal willing there should be some body set up against him to give him check, and to blunt and turn the edge of his Power, that it might not without more adoe prove a Monarchy ; they set up *Thucydides* He bath of Alopecia, a sober discreet person, and a near Kinsman of *Cimon's*, to take up the Cudgels against him. Who indeed though he were less skill'd in warlike Affairs than *Cimon* was, yet was better versed in the Courts of Law and busines of State ; who keeping close guard in the City, and being ingaged with *Pericles* in the pleading place where the publick Harangues were made, in a short time brought the Government to an equal interest of parties. For he would not suffer those who were call'd the Honest and good (persons of worth and fashion) to be scatter'd up and down and jumbled in a huddle with the Populace as formerly, by that means having their honour and credit smutted and darkned by the mixture of the Rabble : but taking them apart by themselves, and gathering into one the power and interest of them all, which was now grown considerable, he did as it were upon the balance make a counterpoise to the other party.

*They be-
come
Heads of
two Par-
ties.*

For indeed the contrast of the two parties at first was but as a thing of secret grudg, that made but a shallow impression, like a thing cut upon Iron, and barely signified the difference of a *Popular* and an *Aristocratical* design; but the open quarrel and canvassing ambition of these two men, gave the City a very deep gash, so that the one Party was called the populace or Commons, the other the Few or Great ones; *Whigs* and *Tories*.

*Pericles
his arts to
cajole the
people.*

Upon which account *Pericles*, at that time especially, letting loose the reins to the people, managed things all to their content, contriving continually to have some great publick shew or feast or solemnity, some entertainment and divertisement or other in Town, to please them, wheedling and cokeling the Citizens, as a School-master does his Boys, with such delights and carefles, as were not unedifying neither. Besides that every year he sent out threescore Galleys, on board of which there went several of the Citizens, who were in pay eight months, learning at the same time and practising the Art of Navigation, that they might prove good Seamen.

*He sends
Plantati-
ons abroad.*

Moreover he sent a thousand of them into the *Chersonese* in the nature of Planters to share the Land among them by lot, and five

five hundred more into the Isle of *Naxos*, and half that number into the Isle of *Andros*, and a thousand into *Thrace* to dwell among the *Bisaltæ* a People there; and others into *Italy*, when the City *Sybaris* was to be re-peopled, the Inhabitants whereof went by the name of the *Thurians*. And this he did to ease and discharge the City of an idle, and by reason of their idleness, a busie meddling rabble of people, who having little to do of their own, would have made work by giving disturbance to the publick; and withall at the same time to provide for the necessities of the poor Townsmen, by supplying them and letting them to rights, and to put an awe and a guard upon their allies from attempting any thing of change by sending them to dwell among them.

But that which gave most pleasure and ^{He raiseth} ornament to the City of *Athens*, and the ^{stately} ^{Buildings} greatest admiration even to astonishment ^{in the City.} to all Strangers, and that which alone doth sufficiently witness for all *Greece*, that that power of hers that is so much talk'd of, and her ancient wealth, was no Romance or idle Story, was that glorious apparaide and furniture of those stately publick Buildings and Dedications which *Pericles* caused to be raised and made there. This was that ^{For which} ^{he is hardly} ^{spoken of.} of all his actions in the Government which his

his Enemies look'd asquint at and fell foul upon in the popular Assemblies, crying out how that the Commonwealth of *Athens* had lost its reputation, and was ill spoken of abroad, for removing the common Bank and publick Moneys of all the *Grecians* from the Isle of *Delos*, where it was to have been kept, and taking it into their own custody ; and how that, that which was the fairest excuse they had to plead for their so doing, to wit, that they took it away thence, for fear of the *Barbarians*, lest they should seize it, and on purpose to secure it in a safe place, *Pericles* had broke the neck of that pretence by putting it to other uses ; and how that *Greece* cannot but resent it as an unsufferable affront, and must needs look upon her self as treated after a tyrannical manner, when she sees that that Treasure, which was upon a necessity contributed by her for the use and maintenance of War, is wantonly lavished out by us upon our City to gild her all over, and to adorn and set her forth as it were some proud stately Dame, hung round with precious Stones, and Statues, and sumptuous Temples, which cost a world of Money.

*His Apology and Vindi-
cation of himself.* Wherefore *Pericles* on the other hand informed the State, that they were no manner of way obliged to give any account of those

those Moneys to their Friends and Allies; inasmuch as they fought and maintained a War in their defence, and kept off the *Barbarians* from attacking them, and harassing their Country, while in the mean time they did not so much as set out Horse, or Man, or Ship, but only found Money, for the Service; which Money, says he, is not theirs that give it, but theirs that receive it, if so be they perform the conditions upon which they receive it. And that it was good reason, that the City being sufficiently provided and stored with those things that are necessary for the War, they should convert the overplus of its wealth to such undertakings and designs, as would hereafter, when they were finished, eternize their fame, and for the Present, while they are a doing, will readily supply all the inhabitants with plenty; there appearing such variety of all kind of workmanship and several sorts of occasions for service, which being they do summon all Arts and Trades, and require all hands to be employed about them, they do actually put the whole City in a manner into State-pay; so that at the same time she is beautified and maintained by her self at her own cost and charge. For as those who are of age and strength for War, are provided for and maintained in the Armies abroad by their pay out of the publick

publick Stock ; so it being his desire and design that the rude multitude that staid at home, and were verft in Handi-crafts should not go without their share of publick Salaries, and yet that they would not have them given them for sitting still and doing nothing, to that end he thought fit to bring in among them, with the approbation of the State, those vast projects of Buildings, and designs of Works, that would be of some continuance e're they be finished, which will employ sundry Arts and Occupations. That so that part of the People, that staid in the City and kept home, might, no less than those that were at Sea, or in Garrison, or under Arms, have a fair pretence and just occasion of receiving the benefit, and having their share of the publick Money.

The advan-
tage of
those pub-
lick Works
to the Peo-
ple of the
Town.

For here in this case the Materials or stuff were *Stone, Brass, Ivory, Gold, Ebony, Cypress* ; and the Arts or Trades that wrought and fashioned them were *Smiths and Carpenters, Image-makers and Plaisterers, Founders and Brasiers, Stone-cutters or Carvers and Masons, Dyers and Stainers, Gold-smiths, Ivory cutters, Painters or Picture-drawers, Embroiderers, Turners* : now those that imported these things and conveyed them up to the Town for use, were *Merchants, and Marriners, and Masters of ships by*

by Sea; and those who brought and help'd to bring them by Land were *Waggoners* and *Cartwrights*, *Carriers*, and those that let Horses to hire, *Carters* and *Muleteers*, *Rope-makers*, Workers in stone, *Shoe-Makers* and Leather-dressers, *Surveyors* and Menders of High-ways, *Pioneers* and diggers in Mines. Now every Trade and Mystery, in the same nature, as a Commander or Captain in an Army hath his particular Company of Souldiers under him, had its own hired and peculiar Company of Journey-men and Labourers belonging to it banded and pack'd together as in array, to be as it were the instrument and body for the performance of the service. To say all in a word, the occasions and uses they had for men to these publick Works did distribute and scatter the plentiful advantage and benefit of them among the People of the Town through all ages and conditions; of whatsoever Trade and Occupation they might be.

As the Works then grew up, being as stately and extraordinary for bulk and greatness, so inimitable for beauty and gracefulness, the Workmen striving to out-vy the matter and grandeur of the Work with the neat contrivance and artificial beauty of it; the thing that was most to be admired was the haste and speed they made. For of those

*The admirable speed
they made
in these
Works.*

those things, which every one of them singly they did imagin could hardly be finished and brought to an end in several successions of Governours and ages of Men, all of them had their complement and perfection in the height and prime of one man's Government. Although they say too, that about the same time *Zeuxis* having heard *Agatharcus* the Picture-drawer boast himself for dispatching his Work with speed and ease, replied, *But I am a long time about mine.* For the easiness and hastiness in doing of a thing doth not put upon the Work a lasting solidity or exactness of beauty : but time being allow'd to a man's pains aforehand for the production of a thing doth by way of interest return a vital force for the preservation of the thing after it is once produced. For which reason *Pericles* his Works are the more admired, having been done so well in a little time as to hold good for a long time. For every several Piece of his Work was immediately even at that time for its beauty and elegance Antique, as if it had been performed by some ancient Master ; and yet for it's vigour and freshness it looks to this day as if it were spick and span, and newly wrought : There is such a kind of flourishing gloss upon those Works of his, which continually preserves the sight of them from being fuddled by time,

To the lastingness
and freshness
of them.

time, as if they had an ay-green spirit, and a never fading Soul mingled in the composition of them.

Now *Phidias* was he who had the oversight of all the Works, and was his Surveyor general, though in the several Designs and Pieces there were great Masters and rare Artists employed. For *Callicrates* and *Ictinus* built the *Parthenon* (that is, the Temple of the Virgin *Pallas*) which was in measure an hundred Foot every way; and the Chappel at *Eleusin* (where the sacred Rites of the Goddess *Ceres* were celebrated) was begun by *Coræbus*, who also placed the Pillars that stand upon the Floor or Pavement and join'd them with Architraves: but after his death *Megenes* the *Xypetian* rais'd the Girth or Waste of it, and set up the Pillars that are above, and *Xenocles* the *Cholargian* roofed or arched the Lanthorn or Loover on the top of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

As for the Long Wall, which join'd the *Port* or *Harbour* with the Town, concerning which *Socrates* saith he himself heard *Pericles* deliver his opinion and give order about it, *Callicrates* took that a-great. This brave piece of Work *Cratinus*, like a Poet as he was, sneeringly flouts at, by reason it was so long a finishing; saith he,

'Tis

*An account
of the
Workmen
and of sever-
al of the
Buildings.*

*'Tis long since Pericles, if words would do't,
Talk'd up the Wall; but yet set no hands to't.*

*The Odé-
um or Mu-
sick-Thea-
tre.*

The *Choir* or Musick-room, which for the contrivance of it on the inside was full of Seats and ranges of Pillars, and on the outside in the Roof or covering of it was made from one point at top with a great many bendings, all shelving downward; they say that it was so made after the Copy and in imitation of the King of Persia's Pavilion, and this by *Pericles* his order likewise; Upon which occasion *Cratinus* again, in his Comedy called *The Thracean Women*, plays upon him with raillery thus;

*Here comes along our goodly Jove, (God
bless!)*

*Who's that, I pray? Jobbernoll Peri-
cles.*

*The Shells being scap'd, he now has got the
Moddle*

*O'r' Musick-room (help Goddess) in his
Noddle.*

*Musick-
Games in-
stituted.*

Then *Pericles* out of an ambition to do something to be talk'd of, did first enact or make a Decree, that a prize should be plaid in the Science of Musick every year at the solemn Feasts of *Minerva*, which lasted five days

days together, called *Panathenæa*, whither all the people of City and Country were used to resort, and he himself being chosen Judge of the Prizes, and Bestower of the Rewards, gave order, after what manner those who were to play the Prizes were either to sing with the Voice, or to play upon the Flute, or upon the Cittern or Guitarr. And both at that time (to wit, at the Feast) and at other times also they were wont to sit in this Musick-room and see and hear those Prizes and trials of Skill.

Further the Foregate and entrance of the Cittadel or Castle were finished in five years time, *Mnesicles* being the chief undertaker of that Work. Now there was a strange accident happened in building of the Cittadel, which shewed that the Goddess was so far from disliking the work, or being averse to it, that she help'd to carry it on and to bring it to perfection. For one of the Artificers, who was the quickest and the handiest Work-man among them all, with a slip of his foot fell down from a great height and lay ill of it in so miserable a condition, that the Physicians and Chirurgeons gave him over, having no hopes of his recovery. *Pericles* being at a loss, and not knowing what to do, *Minerva* appeared to him at night in a Dream and order'd a Medicine, which *Pericles* applying to the Man did in a

*The Acro-
polis or
Cittadel.*

*A strange
accident.*

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of that Work. Now there was a strange ^{A strange}
accident happened in building of the Citta-
del, which shewed that the Goddess was
so far from disliking the work, or being a-
verse to it, that she help'd to carry it on
and to bring it to perfection. For one of
the Artificers, who was the quickest and the
handiest Work-man among them all, with a
slip of his foot fell down from a great height
and lay ill of it in so miserable a condition,
that the Physicians and Chirurgeons gave
him over, having no hopes of his recovery.
Pericles being at a loss, and not knowing
what to do, *Minerva* appeared to him at
night in a Dream and order'd a Medicine,
which *Pericles* applying to the Man did in a
short

short time and with great ease cure him. And upon this occasion it was that he set up a brass Statue of *Minerva*, called hence the Statue of *Health*, in the Citadel near an Altar, which as they say was there before. But it was *Phidias*, who wrought the Goddesses Image in gold, and hath his name inscribed on the Pedestal as the Workman thereof. And indeed the whole Work in a manner was under his charge, and he had (as we have said already) the oversight over all the Artists and Workmen, because *Pericles* had a kindness for him.

Several
flanders
and abuses
put upon Pe-
tricles.

And this made the poor man to be much envied, and his Patron to be very ill spoken of, and horribly abused with stories, as if *Phidias* had been his Pimp, and took up Ladies and Gentlewomen that came to see the Works, for *Pericles* his use. The Comick Wits of the Town, when they had got this story by the end, made much of it, and bedash'd him with all the ribaldry they could invent, as if he had been the arrantest Whoremaster that ever liv'd; charging him falsely with the Wife of *Menippus*, one who was his Friend and had been a Lieutenant General under him in the Wars; and with the Volaries or Bird-cages of *Pyrilampes*, who being an acquaintance of *Pericles*, they pretended, and made as if he were wont

wont to present Peacocks and such fine Birds to *Pericles* his Misses, the Women whom he gallanted and kept company with. And why should one wonder at what such Fellows say, who play the *Satyriss* upon other mens lives, and daily upon all occasions with their reproaches and evil speeches sacrifice the reputations of their Superiors, the *Great* and the *Good*, to the envy and spite of the Rabble, as to some evil *Genius* or wicked Spirit; when as *Stesimbrotus* the *Thrasian* had dared to broach a dismal and incredible Villany against *Pericles*, as if he had committed Incest with his own Son's Wife.

By this means it comes about, that it is a very difficult matter to trace and find out *Why hard* the Truth of any thing by *History*, when ^{to find out} *Truth in* on one hand those who undertake to write *History*, it, living so long after the things were done, cannot arrive at the certain knowledge of such transactions as past in the times before them; and on the other hand that *History* which is contemporary and of the same standing with those Actions and Lives, which it reporteth, doth partly through envy and ill-will, partly through favour and flattery, disguise and pervert the truth.

Now when the Oratours who sided with *Thucydides* and were of his party, were at one time bawling (as their custom was)

against Pericles, as one who squander'd away the publick Stock in idle expences, and made havock of the State-revenues, he starting up in the open assembly put the question to the People, Whether they thought that what he had laid out was too much ; and they saying, *Too too much of all conscience.* Well then ! said he, since 'tis so, let not the cost and charge go upon your account, but upon mine : and accordingly I will make the Inscription upon the Temples and other publick Buildings in mine own name. When therefore they heard him say thus, whether it were out of a surprise to see the greatness of his Spirit, or out of emulation that they envy'd him the Glory of the Works, and resolv'd to go shares with him, they cried aloud bidding him to spend on and lay out o' God's name what he thought fit out of the publick Purse, and to spare no cost, till all were finished.

*We foile
Thucydides.*

At length being brought to push of Pike with *Thucydides*, upon a tryal of skill whether should shell the other out of the Country, and having not without some hazard got the better, he threw his Antagonist out, and sent him packing for ten years, and then routed and broke to pieces all the opposite party, which had stood against him. So that now the difference and quarrel being

ing wholly resolved and at an end, and the City being as it were levelled into an even temper, and made of one piece, he in a trice brought about all *Athens* to his own <sup>And rules
all alone.</sup> devot^{ion}, and got the disposal of all affairs that belong'd to the *Athenians* into his own hands, their Customs, and their Armies, and their Gallies, and their Islands, and the Sea, and that great power and strength, which accrued to them partly by means of the other *Grecians*, and partly also upon the account of the *Barbarians*; in a word, such a seigniory and dominion, as was mounded and fortified with several Nations that were subject to it, and with the friendships and amities of several Kings, and with the alliances of confederate Potentates and great Lords.

After this he was now no longer the same Man he had been before, nor at the same rate, as formerly, tame and gentle, and familiar with the populace, so as readily to yield himself up to their pleasure, and to comply with the desires of the Rabble, as a Steersman tacks about with the winds through all the points of the Compass. But on the other hand from that loose remiss and in some cases debosh'd way of wheedling the people, he wound and skrew'd them up to an Aristocratical and Regal form of State and Government, and shewing himself up-
*He alters
his Policy.*

right and unblameable in his noble and sincere aim at the best things, he did by these means generally lead the people along with their own wills and consents, by persuading and shewing them what was to be done; and sometimes too ruffling them and forcing them full sore against their will, he made them whether they would or no to close with what he proposed for the publick advantage.

He plays the State-Physitian. Wherein, to say the truth, he did but like a skilful Physician, who in a complicated and chronical Disease, as he sees occasion, one while allows his Patient the moderate use of such things as please him, another while he applies corrosives and sharp things that put him to pain, and administers such medicines as may work the cure. For there arising and growing up, as is likely, all manner of distempers among a people which had so vast a command and dominion, he alone, as a great Master, knowing how with care to handle and deal with them all severally, did it in especial manner making that use of *Hopes* and *Fears* as his two chief Rudders, as with the one to check and stop the career of their high flown confidence at any time, so with the other to raise them up and comfort them, when they lay under any discouragement; he plainly shewed by this that *Rhetorick* or the Art of speaking is, in *Plato's* sense

sense and language, the Government of the Souls of men, the wire-drawing of the Soul, and that her chiefest business and design is her method and artifice of managing the affections and passions, which are as it were the pegs, the stops and keys of the Soul, which require a very skilful and careful touch and stroke to be plaid upon as they should be.

Now the reason of this that made *Pericles* so prevailing, was not altogether bare,
His reputation and integrity. but as *Thucydides* assures us, the high opinion which the people had of the man, and the reputation and integrity of his life, he being one who was clearly free from all corruption or bribery, and above all considerations of money. Who notwithstanding that he had made the City *Athens*, which was great of it self, as great and rich as can be imagined, and though he were himself also grown in power and interest to be more than equal to many Kings and absolute Lords, who some of them also bequested by Will their Estates to their Children, he for his part did not improve the patrimony his Father left him, or make it more than it was by one Groat or Dram.

*Some Au-
thours cen-
sure of his
great pow-
er.*

Howbeit *Thucydides* doth indeed give a plain narrative of that great power and interest of his, and the *Comick Poets* do spitefully enough, as their manner is, more than hint at it, by covert expressions, calling his Companions and Friends about him by the name of *Pisistratus* his new Courtiers, and demanding of him to abjure the setting up for a single person, or exercising an arbitrary power, as one whose grandeur and eminence were unproportionable to and incompatible with a *Democracy*, or popular Government, and grown to be a grievance not to be endured in a free State. Further *Teleclides* saith that the *Athenians* had betray'd and surrender'd up to him both the Customs and Imposts of their subject Cities and the Cities themselves, so as to bind up some and to let loose others; and Stone Walls, to build up what he pleas'd, and again to throw them down; Leagues of Alliance, the interest and strength of the Nation, their peace, and their wealth and good fortune.

*The long
time of his
Govern-
ment.*

Nor was all this the business of a lucky hit by some emergent occasion, nor was it the vigorous height and propitious favour of a State-management that flourished for a season; but having for forty years together bore the bell away among such brave Statesmen, as *Ephialtes* and *Leocrates*, and *Myronides*

nides and Cimon, and Tolmides and Thucydides were, he after the overthrow and banishment of Thucydides kept up his head still for no less than fifteen years longer, and having gotten a place of command and power, which was but one among the annual Magistracies (or Offices and places of Trust, to which there was a new Election every year) he preserv'd himself free and unprevail'd upon as to money or bribes.

Though otherwise he was not altogether idle or careless in looking after his own advantage, but as to his paternal and personal Estate, which of right belonged to him, he so order'd it, that it might neither through negligence be wasted or lessen'd, nor yet, he being so full of business as he was, give him any great trouble, or cost him much time with taking care of it, and put it into such a way of management as he thought to be the most easie for himself, and the most exact for thrift. For all his yearly products and profits he sold together in a lump, and afterward buying every thing that he or his Family had or might have need of out of the Market, he by this means supplied the concerns of his House as to sustenance and provision.

Upon which account it was, that his Children when they grew to age were not well pleased with his menage, and the Women

*His thrifty
management of his
own Estate.*

His House-keeping.

men that liv'd with him were treated with little cost, insomuch that they complain'd of this way of expence in his House-keeping, which was order'd and set down from day to day, and contracted to the greatest exactness of thrift; since there was not there, as is usual in a great Family and a plentiful Estate, any thing to spare or over and above, but all that went out came in, all his disbursements and receipts, were book'd and carried on as it were by number and measure.

His Stew-ard.

Now there was but one Menial Servant of his, *Evangelus* by name, who kept up all this strictness of his Accounts, one naturally fitted, as no body else could be, for such an employ, or at least bred up by *Pericles* himself to this Stewardship.

*Anaxago-
ras slighted
the world.*

All this in sooth was but the effect of his Tutor *Anaxagoras* his wise instructions; though he for his part by a kind of Divine impulse and greatness of Spirit, which made him contemn the World, voluntarily quit his House, and left his Land to lie fallow and to be grazed by Sheep like a Common.

*The differ-
ence be-
twixt a
Philosopher
and States-
man in the
manner of
their living.*

But I must rationally suppose that the Life of a contemplative *Philosopher* and that of an active *Statesman* is not to be one and the same thing: for the one onely employs his Mind and understanding about great and good things, which Mind of his wants not

the

the help of instruments, nor needs the supply of any materials from without for what it hath to do; whereas the other, who attempters and applies his Virtue to humane uses, may have occasion sometimes for plenty and abundance of outward things, not onely those which are necessary for his subsistence, but those which are handsome also and suitable to his quality: which was *Pericles* his case, who relieved abundance of their poor.

And yet for all that there goes a story, that his Tutor himself, poor *Anaxagoras*, while *Pericles* was taken up with publick affairs, lay neglected, and that now being grown old he muffled up himself with a resolution to die for want of Food; which thing being by chance brought to *Pericles* his ear, he was struck and instantly ran to the man, and used all the Arguments and intreaties he could to him, lamenting not so much his condition as his own, should he lose such a Counsellour of State as he had found him to be. And that upon this, as the story goes on, *Anaxagoras* should unmuffle, and shewing himself make an answer, *Ah Pericles*, said he, even those people who have occasion for a Lamp, use to supply it with Oil; meaning, that if he would have him to live, he must allow him a maintenance.

Anaxago-
ras in great
want.

A notable
saying of
his.

The

A great
project of
Pericles
for a Con-
vention of
all Greece.

The Lacedemonians beginning to shew themselves troubled at the greatness of the Athenians, and to be jealous of the increase of their power, Pericles on the other hand to advance the peoples Spirit and buoy it up yet more, and to put them upon great actions and exploits, proposeth an Edict or Decree in writing to summon all the Grecians, in what part soever they dwelt, whether of Europe or Asia, and that every City, little as well as great, should send their Deputies to Athens to a general Assembly or Convention of Estates, there to consult and advise concerning the Grecian Temples which the Barbarians had set fire to and burnt down, and the Sacrifices which they were indebted upon vows they made to their Gods for the safety of Greece, when they fought against those Barbarians, and the Sea-affair, that they might henceforward all of them pass to and fro and trade securely, and be at a constant peace among themselves.

Commissioners dis-
patch'd to
summon
them.

Upon this errand there were twenty men, of such as were each of them above fifty years of age, sent by Commission: five whereof were to summon the Ionians and Dorians that were in Asia, and the Islanders as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; and five were to go over all the places in Hellespont and Thrace

Thence up to *Byzantium*, (now *Constantinople*) and other five beside these to go to *Bœotia* and *Phocis* and *Peloponnesus*, (now called the *Morea*) and from hence to pass through the *Locrians Country* over to the neighbouring Continent as far as *Acarnania* and *Ambracia*; and the rest of the Commissioners were to take their course through *Eubœa*, to the *Oetæans*, and the Gulf of *Malea*, and to those of *Pthia* and *Achaia* and *Thessaly*; all of them to treat with the people as they past, and to persuade them to come in and bear their share in the debates and concerts, which would be for settling the peace, and regulating a-new the affairs of *Greece*.

When all came to all, there was nothing done in this business, nor did the Cities meet by their deputies, as was desired; the *Lacedemonians*, as it is said, under-hand crossing the design, the trial whereof was disappointed and baffled first in *Peloponnesus*. However I thought fit to bring in this passage to shew the spirit of the Man, and the greatness of his mind for State-projects.

In this military Employ and Conduct of his Soldiers he got himself a great reputation for his wariness in doing what he did securely and safely, as one who would not by his good willingage in any Fight, which had

*His milita-
ry Conduct.*

had much uncertainty in the Event and hazard in the Enterprize, and one who envied not the glory of those Generals whose rash adventures fortune favour'd with good success beyond expectation, however they were admired by others as brave men and excellent Commanders, nor did he think them worthy his imitation: and was always used to say to his Citizens, that if he could help it, what lay in his power, they should continue immortal and live for ever; meaning that he for his part would ever be tender of their lives and not needlessly expose them.

*A rash at-
tempt of
Tolmides.*

To this purpose seeing Tolmides the Son of Tolmaeus, upon the confidence of his former good successes, and flush'd with the great honour his Warlike achievements had procured him, making preparation to attack the *Beotians* in their own country at an unseasonable time, when there was no likely opportunity for carrying the design, and that he had prevail'd with the bravest and highest mettled Blades among all the City-sparks to list themselves as Voluntiers in the service, who besides his other force made up a thousand, he endeavour'd to divert him and to advise him from it, in the publick Assembly, telling him in that memorable saying of his, which still goes about, *That if he woul'd not take Pericles his advice,*

*The judg-
ment of
Pericles
upon it.*

nor

nor be ruled by him, yet he should not do amiss to await Times leisure, who is the wisest Counsellour of all. For his saying of this he was even at that time indifferently well approved and commended, but within a few days after, when the sad news was brought that *Tolmides* himself was slain, having been defeated in the Battel near *Coronea*, and that a great many brave fellows of the Citizens fell with him, this that *Pericles* had said, gain'd him a high respect, together with a great love and kindness among the people, looking upon him as a wise man, and a lover of his Countrymen.

But of all the Expeditions, which have been made, that of his about the *Cerbonese* *His Expedition to the Cerbonese in Thrace.* the people were most fond of and mightily taken with, it having proved so instrumental to the safety of those poor *Greeks* who inhabited there. For he did not only by carrying along with him a thousand fresh Citizens of *Athens* fortifie and strengthen their Cities with a competent number of good stout men, but also by bracing as it were the neck of Land, which joins the *Peninsula* to the *Continent*, with Bulwarks and Forts all the way from Sea to Sea, he kept off and put a stop to the inroads of the *Thracians*, who lay all about the *Cerbonese*, and shut out a continual and grievous

vous War, with which that Country had been all along pester'd and harassed, as being mingled here and there with neighbourhoods of barbarous people, and full of robberies, what of *Moss-Troopers* that were borderers, what of *Banditti* that lived amongt them.

Another round the Morea. Nor was he less admired and talk'd of among strangers and foreigners for his sailing round the Peloponnesus, having set out from a Port of Megara, called *Pegæ* or the Fountains, with a hundred Gallies. For he did not onely pillage and lay waste the Cities along the Sea-coast, as *Tolmides* had formerly done, but also advancing far from Sea up into main Land, with his Souldiers he had on Board, he made some people for fear of his coming shut themselves up and keep close within their Walls, and at *Nemea* he with main force routed the *Sicyonians*, who stood their ground and joined Battel with him, and made them turn their backs, whereupon he set up a Trophee in token of his Victory. And having out of *Achaia*, in League then with *Athens*, taken on Board of him a supply of Souldiers into the Gallies, he went off with the Fleet to the opposite Continent, and having sailed along by the mouth of the River *Achelous*, he overran *Acarnania*, and shut up the *Oneadae* [or descendants of *Onens*], the Governors

vernours of the Country) within the City-wall, and having ravaged and mischiev'd their Country, he weigh'd Anchor for home with this double advantage, that he appeared terrible and dreadful to his Enemies, and at the same time safe and wary, yet stout and active too to his Fellow-Citizens: for there was not any the leaft miscarriage or disorder, so much as by misfortune or chance; that happened the whole Voyage to those who were under his charge.

Moreover when he sailed to *Pontus* with a great Fleet and bravely equipped, he accommodated the Greek Cities with what things they wanted or stood in need of, and treated them with great kindness and courtesie; but to the barbarous Nations that dwelt round about them, and to the Kings and Lords of those Nations, he openly shew'd the greatness of the *Athenians* power, and how void of fear and full of confidence they were, sailing where ever they had a mind, and bringing the whole Sea under their dominion. Further he left the *Sinopians* thirteen men of War with Souldiers under *Lamachus* his command, to assist them against *Timesileos* the Tyrant; and he and his complices being thrown out, he made a Decree or Order of State, that six hundred of the *Athenians* that were willing to go should sail to *Sinope*, and plant themselves

selves there with the *Sinopians*, sharing among them the Houses and Land, which the Tyrant and his party had formerly held.

*He curbs
the peoples
extrava-
gant designs
of making
War a-
broad.*

But in other things he did not comply with the giddy humours and eager passions of the Citizens, nor quit his own resolutions, to go along with them at their mad rate, when being lifted up with the consideration of that vast strength they were masters of, and of that great success fortune had favour'd them with, they were on gog both to seise upon *Egypt* again as their own by a former Conquest, and to disturb those parts of the King of *Perſia's* Dominions that lay near the Sea-side. Nay there were more than a good many, who were posſeſ'd with a confounded and (as it would have proved then and hath done ſince) unfortunate design for *Sicily*, a heat which afterward the Oratours of *Alcibiades* his party blew up into a flame. There were ſome also, who dreamed of *Tuſcany* and of *Carthage*; and not without reason or hope, they thought, because of their large Dominion, and of the prosperous course they had hitherto had of their affairs.

*Here reserves
their Forces
against the
Lacede-
monians.*

But *Pericles* curb'd this extravagant humour of making excursions abroad, and chock'd their over-busie fancies which put them upon meddling with ſo much busineſſ

at

at once ; and turned the most and greatest part of their force and power to the preserving and securing of what they had already gotten, supposing it would be a considerable business if they could keep the *Lacedemonians* under, or at least in good order, he having all along a particular peck at them, which as upon many other occasions, so he particularly shew'd by what he did in the time of the Holy War.

For whereas the *Lacedemonians* having gone with an Army to the City *Delphi* restored *Apollo's Temple*, which the *Phocians* had got into their possession, to the *Delphians* again, immediately after their departure, *Pericles* coming with another Army brought in the *Phocians* again. And the *Lacedemonians* having engraven an Oracle, (or be it a privilege of consulting the Oracle before others) which the *Delphians* gave them, upon the forehead of a brazen Wolf which stands there ; he also having received from the *Phocians* an Oracle or the like privilege for his *Athenians*, had it cut upon the same Wolf of Brass on his right side.

Now that he did well and wisely in this that he kept the force and power of the *Athenians* within the compass of *Greece*, the things and passages themselves, that happen'd afterward, did bear sufficient Witness. For in the first Place the *Eubœans* New trou-
bles arise.

revolted, against whom he past over with Forces; and then immediately after news came that the *Megarians* were set upon in War, and that the Enemies Army was upon the borders of the Attick Country under the command and conduct of *Pleistônax*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* went with his Army back again in all haste out of *Eubœa*, to the War which threatned home; and because there were a many brave fellows in Arms on the other side who dared him to fight, he did not venture to engage or to come to handy-blows, with them, but perceiving that *Pleistônax* was a very young man, and that he govern'd himself mostly by the counsel and advice of *Cleandrides*, whom the Overseers or Curatours of the State (whom they call *Ephori*) had sent along with him by reason of his youth to be a kind of Guardian and Assistant to him; he privately applied his temptation to him, and in a short time having corrupted him with money, he prevailed with him to withdraw the *Peloponnesians* out of the Attick Country.

When the Army was retir'd and dispersed into several quarters through their Towns and Cities, the *Lacedæmonians* being grievously offended at it, amerced their King in a great sum of money by way of Fine, which he being not able to pay quitted his

The Lacedæmonians make an inroad.

They are bought out.

Cleandrides sentenced for his treachery.

his Country and remov'd himself from *Lacedæmon*; the other gentleman *Cleandrides*, who fled for it, having a sentence of death past upon him by them for betraying them. This man was the Father of that *Gylippus*, who defeated the *Athenians* and beat them so at *Sicily*. And it seems that this Covetousness was an hereditary disease that past from Father to Son; for he also whom we last mention'd was upon a like account caught in foul practices, and was turned out of Town at *Sparta* for it. But this is a story we have told at large, where we discourse the affairs of *Lysander*.

Gylippus
his Son taken in the
like practice.

Now when *Pericles* in giving up his ac-
counts of this Expedition had set down a
disbursement of ten Talents (which comes
to about 1500 pounds Sterling) as laid out
upon a fit and useful occasion, the people
without any more ado, not troubling them-
selves to canvass the Mystery, how it was
expended, freely allow'd of it. And some
Historians, in which number is *Theophras-*
tus the Philosopher, having reported it for a
truth, that year by year *Pericles* sent pri-
vately the aforesaid sum of ten Talents to
Sparta, wherewith he complemented those
that were in any Office or place of Trust
to keep off the War; not to purchase peace
neither, but to redeem time, to the intent
that having at leisure provided himself, he

T t 3 might

*He chas-
teth the
Eubœan
revolters.*

might the better make a War hereafter. Wherefore presently upon this, turning his forces against the revolters, and passing over into the Island of *Eubœa* with fifty Sail of Ships and five thousand Men in Arms, he overthrew and won their Cities, and drove out those of the *Chalcidians*, whom they called *Hippobotæ*, i. e. Horse-feeders, the chief persons for wealth and reputation among them ; and removing all the *Hestianians* out of the Country brought in a Plantation of his own Country-men the *Athenians* in their room to dwell thereby themselves; treating those people with that severity, for that they having taken an Attick Ship prisoner had put all the men on board to death.

*The War
against Sa-
mos.*

After this was over, having made a truce between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* for thirty years, he orders by publick Decree an Expedition against the Isle of *Samos*, upon this pretence that they, when they were bid to leave off the War they had with the *Milesians*, did not as they were bid to do. But by reason that what he did against the *Samians*, he is thought to have done it in favour of *Aspasia*, and to gratifie some humour or design of hers, (she being that Country-woman) here in this place may be a fit occasion most properly for us to make inquiry concerning this Woman,

man, what cunning art or charming force she had so great as to inveigle and captivate, as she did, the chief persons of the Government, and to afford the Philosophers occasion so much to discourse about her, and not to her disparagement neither.

Now that she was a *Milesian* by birth, ^{The story of} the Daughter of one *Axiochus*, ^{Aspasia.} is a thing acknowledged. And they say that she in imitation of one *Thargelia*, a Curtisan, one of the old *Ionian* stamp, used to make her addresses to personages of the greatest power, and to clap them on board. For ^{Thargelia} that same *Thargelia* being a handsome Woman ^{such another.} man to see to, and having a graceful carriage and a shrewd wit into the bargain, kept company with a great many of the Greeks, and wrought all those who had to do with her over to the *Perfian* King's interest, and by their means, being men of the greatest power and quality, she sowed the seeds of the *Median* Faction up and down in several Cities.

And for this *Aspasia* they say that she was courted and caressed by *Pericles* upon the account of her wisdom and knowledge in State affairs. For *Socrates* himself would sometimes go to visit her, and some of his acquaintance with him, and those who used her company would carry their Wives along with them to her: as it were to *Lecture*,

*A shrew'd
Woman and
much fre-
quented.*

ture to hear her discourse, though by the way the House she kept was little other than a Vaulting School, she being a *Gouvernante* of no modest or creditable employ, but keeping a parcel of young Wenches about her, who were no better than they should be. Now *Æschines* saith also that there was one *Lysicles* a Grasier or Mutton-monger, who of a great Clown and a pitiful Sneaksby, as naturally he was, did by keeping *Aspasia* company after *Pericles* his death, come to be a chief man among the people of *Athens*. And in a Book of *Plato's* intitled *Menexenus*, though the first part of it is written with some pleasantry and sport, yet there is so much of History in it, that she was a Woman, with whom many of the *Athenians* convers'd and often resorted to, as the common opinion was, upon the account of her Rhetorick and her abilities of Discourse,

But I must needs say for *Pericles* his share, that the inclination and fancy he had for her appears rather to have proceeded from the passion of love. For he had a Wife that was near of kin to him, who had been married formerly to *Hipponeicus*, by whom she had a Son *Callias* by name, surnamed the Rich; as also she brought *Pericles*, while she liv'd with him, two Sons, *Xanthippus* and *Paralus*. Afterwards when they could not

Pericles
his former
Wife.

not well agree nor like to live together, he parted with her, being willing and consenting to it, to another man, and himself took *Aspasia* to Wife, whom he dearly loved with wonderful affection: for every day, both as he went out and as he came in from business abroad, he constantly saluted and kiss'd her.

*He marries
Aspasia.*

In the Comedies she goes by the nick ^{The Poets} names of young *Omphale* and *Deianira* (^{Lampoon} the one *Hercules* his Mistress, the other his ^{her.} Wife) and again she was called *Juno*, (as *Pericles* himself was called *Jupiter*.) *Cratinus* hath plainly and in downright terms given her out for a Whore or Harlot in these Verses, speaking of her Mother.

Of Juno, fair Aspasia by name,
The good old Beldame's safely brought to
Bed;
A wanton Minks, a Whore, a Thing past shame,
Bitch-fac'd, and Born without a Maiden-
head.

It should seem also that he had a Bastard by her, concerning whom *Eupolis* in a Play of his, called *The public Affairs*, brings in *Pericles* asking in this manner,

And

And is my Bastard-son alive, d'ye say?

And then brings in Pyronides making answer,

*Alive, and would e're this many a fair day
Have been a Man, did not fear of foul play
From th' Whoré his Mother keep him at a stay.*

*Another so called Com-
bine to Cyrus.* Further they say that this *Aspasia* was so celebrated and renowned a Beauty in her time, that *Cyrus* also, who made War against his Brother King *Artaxerxes* for the Persian Monarchy, gave her whom he loved the best of all his Misses or Concubines the name of *Aspasia*, who before that was called *Milto*. She was a *Phocian* by Birth, the Daughter of one *Hermotimus*, who when *Cyrus* fell in Battel was carried to the King and was in great favour at Court. These things coming into my memory, as I am writing this story, it would not peradventure be civil for me to lay aside and pass them by.

An account of the Samian War. Now the thing they squarrelled for, was that he proposed to the Assembly the War against the *Samians*, and had it enacted mainly in favour of the *Mileians* upon the request and intreaty of *Aspasia*. For these

these two States waged a War for the ma-^{The ground} stery of *Priene*, and the *Samians* getting ^{of it.} the better on't refus'd to lay down their Arms and to have the Controversie betwixt them debated and decided before the *Athenians*, as they ordered they should, and to stand to their award.

Wherefore *Pericles* furnishing out a Fleet went and broke up the *Oligarchy* which was at *Samos*, (that is, the Government man-^{Pericles changes their Go-}naged by some few of the Great ones) and taking fifty Hostages of the principal per-^{He takes Hostages of them.} sons of the Town and as many of their Children, he sent them to the Isle of *Lemnos*, there to be kept.

Though there are some do say that every one of those Hostages did severally proffer him a Talent a Head by way of ransome, and that those who had no mind to have a *Democracy* or popular Government in the City tended him many other presents. Moreover *Pisuthnes* the *Persian*, one of the King's Lord-Lieutenants, bearing some good will to the *Samians*, sent him ten thousand Pistoles or pieces of Gold to excuse the City. Howbeit *Pericles* would receive none ^{They prof-} ^{fer money.} ^{Here refuseth} of all this, but after he had taken that course with the *Samians*, as he thought fit, and set up a *Democracy* among them, he fail'd back to *Athens*.

But

They revolt. But they immediately revolted, *Pisuthenes* having privily convey'd away their Hostages for them, and provided themselves with all things necessary for the War. Whereupon *Pericles* came out with a Fleet a second time against them, whom he found not idle with their hands in their pockets, nor in a sneaking Posture, as if they were daunted at his coming, but altogether manfully resolved to try for the dominion of the Sea.

They are beaten in a Fight at Sea. The issue of it all was, that after a brisk and sharp Sea-fight about the Island called *Targia*, (that is, the Isle of Goats) *Pericles* obtain'd a gallant Victory, having with forty and four Sail, took, routed, and sunk, threescore and ten of the Enemies, whereof Twenty were Men of War.

They are block'd up in Town. And together with his Victory and pursuit having made himself master of the Port or Harbour, he laid Siege to the *Samians*, and block'd them up, who yet notwithstanding for all that were so hardy and venturous as to make sallies out, and fight under the City walls. But after that another greater Fleet, sent as a fresh supply from *Athens*, was arrived, and that the *Samians* were now shut up with a close Leaguer on every side, *Pericles* taking with him three-score Galleys, sailed out into the main Sea; with a resolution, as most Authors give the account,

Pericles goes off with 60 Gallies.

account, to meet with a Squadron of *Phenician* Ships, that were coming from the *Samians* relief and assistance, and to fight them at as great distance as could be from the Island ; but, as *Stesimbrotus* will have it, with a design of putting over to *Cyprus* : which doth not seem to be probable. But which soever of the two was his intent, 'tis plain he was in an error and by his doing as he did gave occasion to a scurvy miscarriage.

For he being put out to Sea, *Melissus* the Son of *Ithagenes*, a man of parts and a Philosopher, being at that time Admiral of *Samos*, made but little reckoning either of the Ships that were left in respect of their small number, or of the Commanders themselves in regard of their want of skill, and upon this account prevail'd with the Citizens to attack and set upon the *Athenians*. And the *Samians*, having won the Battel, and taken several of the men prisoners, and sunk and spoil'd several of the Ships, were masters of the Sea, and brought into Port what necessaries they wanted for the War, and had not before. *Aristotle* saith too, that *Pericles* himself had formerly been worsted and beaten by this *Melissus* in a Sea-fight.

Now the *Samians*, that they might re-quite an affront which had before been put upon

*The Samians take
the advan-
tage, and
get a victo-
ry.*

They mark upon them, mark'd (either by an Inscripti-
*the Ath- on or Brand) those *Athenians* whom they*
nian Pri- took prisoners in their Foreheads with the
*sover with Picture of an *Owl*, (which is their City-*
*an Owl. Crest.) For so the *Athenians* had mark'd*

*As the A- them before with a *Samæna*, which is a*
thenians bad done sort of Ship, somewhat low and flat in the
done to them with forepart of it, so as to look snut-nosed, but
a Samæna. wide and large and well-spread in the hold
by which it both keeps snug upon the Water,
and proves a swift sailer besides. And
it was so called, because the first of that
*kind was seen at *Samos*, having been built*
*by order of *Polycrates* the Tyrant. To*
*these marks or brands upon the *Samians**
*foreheads they say that that passage in *Ari-**
**stophanes* hath a secret allusion, where he*
saith,

The Samian people (fy for shame !)
For store of Letters have great fame.

Pericles relieves his Army. Pericles, as soon as news was brought him of the disaster that had beslavn his Army, made all the haste he could to come in to their relief, and having got the better of *Melissus*, who bore up against him, and having put the Enemies to flight, he presently hemm'd them in with a Wall, resolving to master them and take the Town, rather

Beats the Samians.

Inchiseth them with a Wall.

rather with some cost and time, than with the wounds and hazards of his Citizens.

But inasmuch as it was a hard matter to keep in or hold back the *Athenians*, who were vexed at the delay, and were eagerly bent to fight, he dividing the whole multitude into eight parts or bodies of men, ordered the business by lot so, that that part which had the *white Bean* should have leave to feast and take their ease, while the other seven were busie à fighting. For which reason, they say also, that people, when at any time they have been merry and enjoy'd themselves, call such a day a *white day*, in allusion to this white Bean.

Ephorus the Historian tells us besides, that *Pericles* made use of Engines of Battery in this Siege, being much taken with the strangeness of the invention, and that he plaid them in presence of *Artemo* himself the Engineer; who being lame was used to be carried about in a Litter or Sedan upon occasion of business where his attendance was required, and for that reason was called *Periphoretus*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* disproves this out of *Anacreon's Poems*, where mention is made of this *Artemo Periphoretus* several Ages before the Samian War, or any of those passages. And he says that *Artemo* being a man who lov'd his Belly and his ease, and had a tender apprehension

*He orders
a Lottery
by a white
Bean.*

*Artemo
why called
Periphore-
tus.*

*Another
account of
him.*

hension of danger so as to be struck down with fear at the very thoughts of it, did for the most part keep close within door, having two of his Servants to hold a brazen Shield over his Head, that nothing might fall upon him from above; and if he were at any time forced upon necessity to go abroad, that he was carried about in a Pal-lankee or little hanging Bed, close to the very ground almost, and that for this reason he was called *Periphoretus*.

Pericles
takes the
Town.

In the ninth month the *Samians* surrendering themselves, and delivering up the Town, *Pericles* pull'd down their Walls, and seiz'd their Shipping, and set a Fine of a great sum of money upon them; part of which they paid down upon the nail, and the rest they agreed to bring in by a certain time, and gave Hostages for security.

Duris
gives a
tragical ac-
count of it.

Now *Duris* the *Samian* makes a Tragical outcry of this Story, charging the *Athenians* and *Pericles* with a great deal of cruelty, which neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Aristotle* hath given any Relation of: (but it is likely enough that that Author had little regard to truth in his so doing;) as how that he brought the Captains of the Galleys and the Sea-men into the Market-place at *Miletum*, and there having bound them fast to Boards for ten days, he then gave order to have them, poor Wretches, who

who are already as good as half dead, to be kill'd by beating out their Brains with Clubs, and their dead Bodies to be flung out into the open Streets and Fields unburied.

But as for *Duris*, he being one, who even where he hath no private concern of his own, is not wont to keep his historical accounts within the compass of truth, it is the more likely that upon this occasion he hath aggravated the calamities which befell his Country, on purpose to draw an odium upon the *Athenians*. *And is censured for it.*

Pericles, after the overthrow of *Samos*, as soon as he returned back to *Athens*, he took care that those who died in the War should be honourably buried, and made such a Funeral Harangue, as the custom is, in their commendation at their Graves and Monuments, that he was highly admired and esteemed for it. *Pericles takes care for the burial of his dead.*

As he came down from the Pulpit (or place where they delivered their Speeches) the rest of the Ladies came and complimented him, taking him by the hand, and crowning him with Garlands and Rubans, as they used to do with Gamesters that won the publick Prizes; onely *Epinice* coming near to him, saith she, *These are brave things, Pericles, that you have done, and such as deserve our Chaplets, who have privately quips him*

lost us as many brave worthy Citizens, not in a War with Phœnicians or Medes, (Enemies and Forrigters) as my Brother Cimon wout to do, but for the overthrow of a City that was in alliance and of the same Country and Kindred with us. As Elpinice spoke these words, he gently smiling, as 'tis said, returned her this Verse of Archilochus for answer;

*Old Woman, as you are,
You should not powder Hair,
Nor as you walk, perfume the Air;
Leave these things to the Young and Fair.*

He is said to have been conceited of this Victory Now Ion saith of him, that upon this exploit of his conquering the Samians, he entertained a strange and high conceit of himself, in that, whereas Agamemnon was ten years a taking a barbarous City, he had in nine months time vanquished and taken the chiefeſt and the most powerful people among all the Ionians. And indeed it was not without reason that he assumed this glory to himself; for, to ſay the truth, there was much uncertainty and great hazard in this War, if ſo be (as Thucydides tells us) the Samian State were come to that pitch, that they were within a very little of wrenching the whole power and dominion of the Sea out of the Athenians hands.

As he had reason.

After

After this was over, a War from *Pelō*. *The occasi-*
ponnesus being already breaking out in full *on of the*
tide, he advised the People to send help and *Pelopon-*
assistance to the Corcyraeans, (the people of *nesian*
the Island now called Corfu) who were in-
vaded and set upon by the Corinthians, and
to take into their protection and alliance
an Island so strengthened, as that was, with
naval power; seeing that the *Peloponnesians*
were already, more than ever, made En-
mies against them.

The Commons readily consenting to the Pericles motion, and voting an aid and succour for them, he dispatch'd away *Lacedæmonius*, ^{sends aid to Corcy- ra, by La-} *Cimon's Son*, having only ten Ships along ^{cedæmo- nius.} with him, as if it were out of a design to affront and abuse him. For there was a great kindness and friendship betwixt *Cimon's Family* and the *Lacedæmonians*; wherefore ^{His spite to Cimon's family.} that *Lacedæmonius* might lie the more open to a charge or suspicion at least, of favouring the *Lacedæmonians* and playing booty with them, if he performed no considerable or handsome exploit in this conduct and service, he allowed him such a small number of Ships, and sent him out against his will: And indeed he did wholly by all means he could make it his business to hinder *Cimon's Sons* from rising in the State, pretending that by their very Names they were

not to be look'd upon as natives of the Country or right-bred *Athenians*, but foreigners and strangers, in as much as one's name was *Lacedæmonius*, another's *Theſſalus*, and the third's *Elius*; and they were all three of them, as it was thought, born of an *Arcadian Woman*.

*He sends
more help
but too
late.*

Wherefore *Pericles* being but ill spoken of upon the account of these ten Galleys, as having afforded but a small supply to the poor people that desired it, and given a great advantage to those who might call him in question, he sent out some more other Ships afterwards to *Corcyra*, which arrived after the Fight was over, that is, as we say, came a day after the Fare, when it was too late.

*Several
complaints
from the
other
Greeks a-
gainst the
Atheni-
ans.*

Now when the *Corinthians* being deadly angry with the *Athenians* accused them publickly at *Lacedæmon*, the *Megarians* joined with them, complaining that they were, contrary to common right and the articles of peace agreed upon Oath among the *Grecians*, kept out and driven away from every Market and from all ports, where the *Athenians* had to do, to the hindrance of Commerce and the decay of their Trade. And those of *Ægina*, appearing to have been grievously ill used and treated with violence, made their supplications in private to the *Lacedæmonians* for redress, as not

not daring openly to call the *Athenians* in question. In the mean time the City *Potidea*, (being under the dominion of the *Athenians* then, but a Colony formerly of the *Corinthians*) having revolted was beset with a formal Siege; which prov'd an occasion of hastning on the War.

Nay and yet notwithstanding all this, there being Embassies sent to *Athens*, and *Archidamus* the King of the *Lacedæmonians* endeavouring to bring several of those complaints and matters in dispute to a fair determination and decision, and to pacifie and allay the heats of the allied parties, it is very likely that the War would not upon any other grounds of quarrel have fallen from all sides upon the *Athenians*, could they have been prevail'd with to repeal that Ordinance and Decree of theirs against the *Megarians*, and to be reconciled to them. Upon which account, since *Pericles* was the man, who mainly opposed it, and stirr'd up the people, continuing in his peevish and stubborn resolution of unkindness and quarrelsomness against those of *Megara*, he alone bore the blame and was look'd upon as the onely cause and promoter of the War.

They say moreover that Ambassadours went by order from *Lacedæmon* to *Athens* about this very busyness, and that, when

*The business
of Megara
the main occa-
sion of the
War.*

*Polyarces
his device
to reconcile
the quar-
rel,*

Pericles pretended a certain Law, which forbade the taking down the Tablet, wherein the Decree or publick Order was written, one of the Ambassadours, Polyarces by name should say, *Well! do not take it down then, but turn the Tablet inward; for there is no Law, I suppose, which forbids that.* This though it were prettily said, and might have serv'd for a handsome expedient, yet Pericles did not at all relent nor bate an ace of his resolution.

*The ground
of the A-
thenians
quarrel a-
gainst the
Megari-
ans.*

There was then, in all likelihood, some secret grudge and private animosity, which he had against the Megarians. Yet he upon the pretence of a publick and manifest charge against them, as that they had cut down a holy Grove dedicated to the Gods, or imbezilled a piece of ground consecrated to pious uses, writes an Order, that a Herald should be sent to them, and the same person to the Lacedæmonians, with an accusation of the Megarians. This Order of Pericles, truth is, shews an equitable and friendly proceeding enough.

*The quarrel
improv'd by
the Her-
ald's
death, who
was sent to
them.*

But after that the Herald which was sent, by name Anthemocritus, died, and it was thought that the Megarians had contriv'd his death and made him away, then Charinus writes a Decree against them, that there should be an irreconcileable and implacable enmity thenceforward betwixt the

two Commonwealths ; and that if any one of the *Megarians* should but set his foot upon any part of the *Attick Territories*, he should be put to death ; and that the Commanders, when they take the usual Oath, should, over and above that, swear that they will twice every year make an inroad into the *Megarians Country* ; and that *Anthemocritus* should be buried near the *Thriopian Gates*, which are now called the *Dipylon* or Double Gate.

On the other hand the *Megarians* utterly denying and disowning the Murther of *Anthemocritus*, throw the whole business and the guilt, if any, upon *Aspasia* and *Pericles*, to which purpose they make use of those famous and commonly known Verses out of a Play of *Aristophanes*, called the *Acharnes*.

The Megarians re-
flection up-
on the her-
ald's
death.

*Youngsters of Athens went to Megara,
Mad-fuddle-oaps, to keep blind Holiday,
And stole Simætha the Town-Whore away.*

*Nettled at this, Megarian Youths did plot
Reprisal, and to Town by stealth they got,
Where two Aspatian Harlots went to pot.*

Pericles
hindred

the raising
of the De-
cree against
the Mega-
rians, and
why.

The true rise and occasion of this War, what it might be, is not so easie to find out. But that that Decree, we-mentioned, was not repeal'd and annulled, all do alike charge

Pericles with being the cause of that. However there are some who say that he did out of a great sense and height of spirit stand it out stiffly with a resolution for the best; accounting that the Precept and Order of those Embassies was designed for a trial of their compliance and yieldingness, and that a concession would be taken for a confession of weakness, as if they durst not do otherwise. ... And other some there are who say that he did rather in an arrogant bravado and a wilfull humour of contention, to shew his own gallantry and power, slight and set little by the *Lacedemonians*.

The likeliest reason why Pericles bin-dred it.

But that which is the worst cause and charge of all, and which is confirmed by most witnesses, we have in a manner such an account as this given of it. *Phidias* the Plasterer or Image-maker had, as hath before been said, undertaken to make the Statue of *Minerva*. Now he being familiarly acquainted with *Pericles*, and a great Favourite of his, had many enemies upon his account, who envied and maligned him: who also, to make tryal in a case of his, what kind of Judges the Commons would prove, should there be occasion to bring *Pericles* himself before them, having tampered with *Menon* one who had wrought with *Phidias*, they place him in the Court with

with a Petition, desiring publick security upon his discovery and impeachment of *Phidas* for things done by him against the State. The people admitting of the man to tell his story, and the prosecution being agreed upon in the Assembly, there was nothing of theft or cheat charged against him. For *Phidas* had immediately from the very first beginning so wrought and wrapt the Gold, that was used in the work about the Statue, and that by the advice of *Pericles*, that they might take it all off and make out the just weight of it; which *Pericles* also at that time bade the accusers to do.

But the glory and reputation of his Work was that which burthen'd *Phidas* ^{His main crime, the rarity of his Work,} and crush'd him with envy; especially this that where he represents the fight of the *Amazons* upon the Goddesses Shield, he had express'd a kind of Figure or resemblance of himself like a bald old man holding aloft a great Stone with both hands; and had put in a very fine Picture of *Pericles* fighting with an *Amazon*. And the fashion and posture of the Hand which held out the Spear over against *Pericles* his Face, was with that curious art contrived, as if it meant to hide the likeness, which by the by shew'd it self on either side.

Well! poor *Phidas* was carried away to Prison, and there died of a Disease or some other

He is sentenced to Prison and there dies.

other Sickness ; but, as some say, of Poison, to raise a slander or a suspicion at least upon *Pericles*, though it were by the procurement and preparation of his enemies.

Menon's reward.

As to the informer *Menon*, upon *Glycon's* proposal, the people made him free from payment of Taxes and Customs, and ordered the Commanders to take care of the man's safety, that no body might do him any harm.

Aspasia impeached.

About this time *Aspasia* was indicted of Impiety or Irreligion, upon the complaint of *Hermippus* a writer of Comedies, who also laid further to her charge, that shewas Bawd to *Pericles* and entertained Citizens Wives and Daughters for his use. And *Diphites* proposed a Decree, that information should be given in against such persons as deny a Deity, and those who teach or make Discourses concerning Meteors and other appearances in the Sky ; by these last words reaching *Pericles* a box on the ear over *Anaxagoras* his Shoulder.

Pericles order'd to bring in his Accounts.

The people receiving and admitting all accusations and complaints, as they came at length by this means they came to enact a Decree, at the motion of *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* should bring in the account of the Moneys he had expended, and lodge them with the *Prytanes*, the Magistrates and Judges of the Treasury ; and that the

Judges

Judges carrying their suffrage from the Altar should examine and determine the business in the City. This indeed *Agnon* took out of the Decree, but moved that causes should be tried before the 1500 This order put into general terms. Judges, whether one would name it an action of robbery, or of bribery, or of any whatever injustice.

As to *Aspasia*, *Pericles* made shift to beg her off, having shed abundance of tears at the Trial, as *Æschines* makes the relation, and besought the Judges in her behalf. But fearing how it might go with *Anaxagoras*, he sent him away and brought him onward on his way out of the City. And whereas he had in *Phidias* his case miscarried and found the people awkward and adverse, being afraid of a Court of Judges, he set fire to the War, which hitherto had lingered and smothered, and blew it up into a flame; hoping by that means to scatter those mists of impeachments which they were raising against him, and to lower that envy which hung over him; the City usually throwing her self upon him alone and trusting to his sole conduct, upon the urgency of great affairs and publick dangers, by reason of his authority and the sway he bore.

And these are given out to have been the causes, for which *Pericles* would not suffer the

the people of *Athens* to comply with the *Lacedæmonians* or yield to their proposals. However the truth of it, whether it were so or no, cannot be well known.

A message from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians.

The *Lacedæmonians* for their part having an assurance, that if they could pull him down and remove him out of the way once, they might be at what terms they pleased with the *Athenians*, they sent them word, that they should expiate and drive out from among them that horrid crime (meaning the rebellion of *Cylon*) wherewith the kindred of *Pericles* on the Mother's side was tainted, as *Thucydides* hath told the story. But the business prov'd quite contrary to what those who sent this message expected.

It doth not succeed. For instead of bringing *Pericles* under a suspicion and a reproach, they brought him into a far greater credit and esteem with his *Citizens*, as a man whom their Enemies did most mightily hate and fear. Where-

Pericles prevents suspicion of Archidamus. fore all before that *Archidamus*, who was at the head of the *Peloponnesians*, made his incursion upon *Attica*, he told the *Athenians* beforehand, that if *Archidamus*, while he laid waste and made havock of every thing else in the Country, should forbear and spare his Estate, he had there, either upon pretence of some friendship or right of hospitality, that was betwixt them, (as having

having been one anothers Guests at some time or other) or out of purpose to give his enemies an occasion of traducing and speaking evil of him, that then he did freely bestow upon the State all that his Land and Houses in the Country to be employ'd in the publick use and service.

Well, the *Lacedæmonians* together with their allies come with a great Army and invade the *Athenian Territories*, under the conduct of King *Archidamus*; and laying waste the Country, marched on as far as *Archæa*, and there pitch'd their Camp; presuming that the *Athenians* would never endure that, but would come out and fight them for their Country's and their honours sake. But *Pericles* look'd upon it as a dangerous and dismal adventure, to ingage in Battel, were it in defence of the City it self, against threescore thousand armed men of *Peloponnesians* and *Bœotians*, for so many they were in number, that made the inroad at first: And he endeavoured to appease those, who were desirous to fight and were griev'd and discontented to see how things went, and gave them good words, saying, that *Trees when they are lopt and cut, grow up again in short time, but Men being once lost and spoil'd cannot easily be recover'd again.*

He did not convene the People into an Assembly, for fear lest they should force ^{the publick business} _{him without}.

*consulting
the publick
or taking
notice of
peoples dis-
contents.* him from his own resolution or drive him beside his own purpose: But like a skilful Steers-man or Pilot of a Ship, who, when a storm ariseth or a sudden gust of wind sets hard at Sea, having put all things on board to rights and fitted his tackle, he makes use of his art of Navigation, and minds the business of the Ship, taking no notice of the tears and intreaties of the Sea-sick and fearful passengers: so he having shut up the City-gates, and placed Guards at all Posts for security, made use of his own reasons and purposes, little regarding those that bawl'd out against him and were angry at his management. Although there were a great many of his Friends that lay hard at him, requesting him to do otherwise; and many of his Enemies, threatening and accusing him for doing as he did; and many made Ballads and Lampoons and Libels upon him, which were sung about Town to his disgrace, reproaching his Generalship for being cowardly and throwing up tamely or treacherously all their concerns into the Enemies hands.

*Cleon a
Ringleader
of the
Male-con-
tents.*

And Cleon also, having got into credit and favour with the people so as to set up for a Demagogue, and seeing how the Citizens were displeased with him, stuck close to him and gave him broad sides; as *Hermippus* hath made it appear in these *Ana-pæsts*

pæsts of his, a kind of Comick or Lyrick
Verses,

*King of Satyrs, Woman-haunter,
In thy words of War a Vaunter ;
Why, as to action dost thou saunter ?*

*Why wilt not carry Lance or Spear ?
Or heave up Pike ? what makes thee fear,
As if thou didst the Soul of Teles* Wear ?*

*A notori-
ous Cow-
ard.

*Brave Cleon rasps thee to the Bone,
As Morglay's edge is sharp'd with Stone ;
Whet, Whet, he cries ; Courage. O Home !
(O Home !*

However *Pericles* was not at all moved by any of these practices of theirs, but took all patiently, and in silence underwent the disgrace they threw upon him and the ill will they bore him. And sending out a *Pericles Fleet* of a hundred Sail to *Peloponnesus*, he sends out a Fleet to the did not go along with it in person, but staid Enemies behind, that he might look after home and Country. keep the City in order, till the *Peloponnesians* should break up Camp and be gone. Yet to court and caress the common people, who were jaded and in disorder about the War, he relieved and refresh'd them with He divides Moneys and Lands among the distributions of publick moneys, and made the a Law for the division of Lands by lot and people.

the plantation of Colonies. For having turn'd out all the people of *Aegina*, he parted the Island among the *Athenians*, according as their lot fell.

The Enemies sufferings equal to theirs.

And it was some comfort to them and ease in their miseries, even from what things their Enemies endured. For they in the Fleet sailing round the *Peloponnes*, ravaged a great deal of the Country, and pillaged and plundered the Towns and smaller Cities. And by Land he himself went with an Army into the *Megarian* Country, and made havoc of it all. By which means it appears, that the *Peloponnesians*, though they did the *Athenians* a world of mischief by Land, yet suffering as much themselves from them by Sea, would not have drawn out the War to such a length, but would quickly have given it over, as *Pericles* at first foretold they would, had not some divine Power crost humane purposes.

A great Plague breaks out.

Now in the first place there was a pestilential Disease or Murrain, that seiz'd upon the City and ate up all the flower and prime of their youth and strength. Upon occasion of which Distemper, the people, being afflicted in their Souls as well as in their Bodies, were utterly enraged like Mad-men against *Pericles*, and in the same nature as Patients being grown delirious in a high Fever

Fever use to behave themselves toward their Physician, or be it their Father, were ready to fall foul upon him and do him a mischief. For it had been buzz'd in their ears by his enemies, as if he were in the fault, The cause of
it imputed
to Pericles perswading them that the occasion of the Plague was the crowding of so many Country people together into Town ; in that they were forced now in the Summer time in the heat of the weather to dwell a many of them together higgledy piggledy in pitiful little Tenements and sultry Hovels, enough to stifle them ; and to be tied to a lazy course of life within doors, when as before they lived in a pure, open and free air. The cause and author of all this, said they, is he, who upon the account of the War hath poured a multitude of people from the Country in upon us within the Walls, and puts so many men as he has here upon no employ or service, but keeps them pent up like Cattel in a pound, and lets them be over-run with infection from one another, affording them neither shift of quarters nor any refreshment.

He designing to remedy these things, He goes out
with a
great Fleet. and withal to do the Enemy some inconvenience, got a hundred and fifty sail of Ships ready and fill'd them with men, and having embark'd a many stout Souldiers, both Foot and Horse, was about to weigh

An Eclipse
of the Sun
happens.

Anchor, giving great encouragement of hope to his Citizens and no less an alarm of fear to his Enemies, upon the sight of so great a force. And now the Vessels having their complement of men, and Pericles being gone abroad the Admiral his own Gal-

*His device
to cure the
Pilot of his
fear.*

ley, it happened that the Sun was in an Eclipse and it grew dark on a sudden, to the extreme affrightment of them all, looking upon it as a dismal token and an unlucky ill boding Omen. Wherefore Pericles perceiving the Pilot or Steersman seiz'd with a great fear and at a stand what to doe, he took his Cloak and put it before the man's Face, and muffling him up in it that he could not see, he asked him whether he did imagine there was any dreadful thing or great hurt in this that he had done to him, or whether he thought it was the sign of any hurt; he answering, No; Why? said he, and what does that there differ from this, onely that that which hath caused that darkness there, is something greater than a Cloak? But these are things fit to be discoursed in the Schools of Philosophy.

*He besieges
Epidaurus
but mis-
takes.*

Well, Pericles, after he had put out to Sea, as he seems not to have done any other exploit befitting such an apparaide and equipage; so when he had besieged the holy City Epidaurus, which gave him some hope as if it would or might be taken, he miscar-

miscarried in his design by reason of the Sicknes. For it did not only seize upon the *Athenians* and destroy them, but also without any difference any others that upon any occasion mix'd with them or had ought to doe in the Army it carried them off too for company.

After this finding that the *Athenians* were very ill affected towards and highly displeased with him, he tried and indeavoured what he could to appease them by giving them good words and to reincourage their confidence in him. But he could not pacifie or allay their anger, nor perswade them to any thing or prevail with them any way, till they freely past their Votes upon him, and taking the staff into their own hands they took away his Command from him, and fined him in a round sum of money ; which by their account that say least, was fifteen Talents, and they which reckon most name fifty. Now he who was set down at his Trial to be His Accuser, was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us ; but Simmias, according to Theophrastus ; and Heraclides Ponticus has named Lacratidas for the man.

After this the publick heats and affairs <sup>his done
strik my
fortunes.</sup> too might quickly come to a repose and be at quiet, the Comonalty having discharged their spleen and passion upon him (as Wasps

do their sting) together with the mortal wound they gave him. But his private domestick concerns were in a wretched untoward condition, he having lost not a few of his Friends and acquaintance in the plague time, and those of his Family having long since been in disorder and in a kind of mutiny against him. For the eldest of his lawfully begotten Sons, *Xanthippus* by name, being both by Nature given to expense, and marrying a young and costly Dame, the Daughter of *Izander* (who was the Son of *Epylicus*) was highly offended at his Father's niggardly thrift, making him but a scanty bare allowance, and giving it him by little and little at a time. Wherefore he sent to a Friend one day and borrowed some money of him, in his Father *Pericles* name, pretending it was by his order. But the man coming afterward to demand the debt, *Pericles* was so far from yielding to pay it, that he arrested the man and entred an action against him. Upon which the young man *Xanthippus* thought himself so heinously used and highly disengaged, that he openly reviled his Father.

*He abuseſt
his Father
with ſtori-
es.*

And first by way of droll and raillery he redicul'd him by telling stories, what his carriages and conversations were at home, and what kind of discourses he had with the Sophisters and Scholars that came to his House

House. As for instance, how, *Epitimus* A Law
the Pharsalian (one who was a practiser of
case about
the death
of a Horse.
all the five Games of Skill) having with a Dart or Javeling unawares against his will struck and kill'd a Horse that stood in the way, his Father spent a whole day with *Protagoras* in a serious and learned dispute, whether the Javelin or the Man that threw it, or the Masters of the Game, who appointed these Sports, were according to the strictest and best reason to be accounted the cause of this mischance or Horse-slaughter; whereas, and make the worst of it, it was but chance-medley. Further, beside this, *Stesimbrotus* tells us, that it was *Xanthippus* self, who spread abroad among the people that infamous story concerning his own Wife, how his Father should make him Cuckold: and that this untoward grudge of the young man's against his Father, and unnatural breach betwixt them, which was never to be healed or made up, continued with him till his very dying day. For *Xanthippus* died in the Plague-time of the Sicknes.

At which time *Pericles*, also lost his Sister and the greatest part of his Kinsfolks and friends, and those who had been most useful and serviceable to him in managing the affairs of State. However he did not shrink or give out upon these occasions, nor

Pericles
his loss of
friends by
death.

*His uncon-
cernedness.*

did betray or lower his high spirit and the greatness of his mind under all his misfortunes and those calamities which befell him. Nay, so unconcern'd and so great a master of his passions he was at least seemed to be, that he was never known to weep or to mourn and pay the Funeral Rites to any of his dead Friends, nor was so much as seen at the Burial of any of his Relations, till at last he lost the only Son which was left of those who were lawfully begotten, his Son *Paralus*. This touch'd him home and made him bow and relent; and yet he strived what he could to maintain his principle of gravity and to preserve and keep up the greatness of his Soul: but all would not do; for when he came to perform the Ceremony of putting a Garland or Chaplet of Flowers upon the head of the Corps, he was vanquished by his passion at the sight, so that he burst out a crying and pour'd forth abundance of tears, having never done any such thing in all the rest of his life before.

He is invited again to the Government. After all, the City having made trial of other Generals for the conduct of War and Oratours of business of State, when they found there was no one who was of weight enough to counterbalance such a charge, or of authority sufficient to be trusted with

so great a Command: then they hanker'd after their old Friend and Servant *Pericles*, and solemnly invited him to the Tribunal or pleading place, and desiring him to accept of the Office of General or Commander in chief again. He was then in a very penitive condition, and kept in at home, as a close Mourner; but was perswaded by *Alcibiades* and others of his Friends to come abroad and shew himself to the people: who having upon his appearance made their acknowledgments and apologized for their ingratitude and untowardly usage of him, he undertook the publick affairs once more; and being chosen *Praetor* or chief Governour, ^{He undertakes it.} he brought in a Bill that the Statute concerning Bastard-issue, which he himself had formerly caused to be made, might be repealed: that so the name and race or offspring of his Family might not, for want of a lawful Heir to succeed, be wholly and utterly lost and extinguished.

Now the business of that Statute or Law ^{The Law of Bastardy.} stood thus. *Pericles* when long ago he flourished in the State and had (as hath been said) Children lawfully begotten, proposed a Law that those onely should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens*, who were born of such Parents as were both *Athenians*. After this the King of *Egypt* having sent to the Commons, by way of present, forty

X x 4 thou-

*An instance
of its incon-
venience.*

thousand Bushels of Wheat, which were to be distributed and shared out among the Citizens, there sprung up a great many Actions and Suits against Bastards, by virtue of that Edict, which till that time had not been known, nor taken notice of; and several persons besides were trepann'd and insnar'd by false accusations. There were little less than five thousand, who were caught in this State-trap, and having lost the freedom of the City were sold for Slaves; and those who induring the test remained in the Government and past muster for right *Athenians*, were found upon the Poll to be fourteen thousand and forty persons in number.

Pericles
his pro-
posal to re-
peal it.

Now though it look'd somewhat odd and strange, that a Law, which had been carried on so far against so many people, should be broken and cancell'd again by the same man that made it; yet the present calamity and distress, which Pericles labour'd under as to his Family, broke through all objections and prevail'd with the *Athenians* to pity him, as one who by those losses and misfortunes had sufficiently been punished for his former arrogance and haughtiness. And therefore being of opinion, that he had been shrewdly handled by divine vengeance, of which he had run so severe a Gantlop, and that his request was such as became

came a man to ask and men to grant; they yielded that he should inroll his Bastard-
son in the register of his own Ward by his paternal name. This very Son of his after-
ward, when he had defeated the *Pelepon-*
neians in a Sea-fight near the Islands called *Arginusæ*, was put to death by the people together with his fellow-Captains, his Colleagues in that Commission.

About that time, when his Son was in-
roll'd, it should seem, the Plague sei'd *Pericles*, <sup>Pericles
is sick of
the Plague.</sup> not with sharp and violent fits, as it did others that had it, but with a dull and lingring Distemper, through various changes and alterations, leisurely by little and little wasting the strength of his Body, and undermining the noble faculties of his Soul. So that *Theophrastus* in his *Morals*, having made a moot-point, Whether mens Manners change with their Fortunes, and their Souls being jogg'd and disturb'd by the ailings of their Bodies do start aside from the rules of Vertue; hath left it upon record, that *Pericles*, when he was sick, shew'd one of his Friends that came to visit him an Amulet or Charm, that the Wo-
men had hung about his Neck; as much as to say, that he was very sick indeed, when he would admit of or endure such a foolery as that was.

*Wears an
Amulet a-
bout his
Neck.*

When

At his Friends, were discoursing of him.

When he was drawing on and near his time, the best of the Citizens and those of his Friends, who were left alive, sitting about him, were discoursing of his Virtue and Authority, how great it was, and were reckoning up his famous Actions and Achievements and the number of his Victories; for there were no less than nine Trophies, which he as their chief Commander and Conqueror of their Enemies had set up for the honour of the City and State. These things they talk'd of together among themselves, as though he did not understand or mind what they said, but had been utterly bereft of his senses. But he had listned all the while and given good heed to all the passiges of their discourse, and speaking out among them said, that he wondered they should commend and take notice of those things in him, which were as much owing to Fortune as to any thing else, and had happen'd to many other Captains in former times as well as to him; and that at the same time they should not speak or make mention of that which was the most excellent and greatest thing of all. *For, said he, there was never any of all my Fellow-Citizens that ever wore Black or put on Mourning upon my account or long of me:* meaning that he had not in all his Government been the cause of any ones death, either by ordering or procuring it.

He over-bears them, and makes a worthy Reply.

A brave Man, a wonderful great Personage, without all peradventure ! not only upon the account of his gentle behaviour and mild temper, which all along in the many affairs of his life and those shrewd animosities which lay upon him he constantly kept up and maintain'd, but also of his generous great spirit and high sentiment, that he esteem'd that to be the best of all his good qualities, that having been in such an absolute uncontrollable power, as he had had, he never had gratified his envy or his passion in any thing to any other Man's hurt, nor ever had treated any enemy of his, as if he were incurable, that is, unreconcileable and one who in time might not become a friend: And to me it appears that this one thing of him did make that otherwise childish and arrogant Title they gave him in Nicknaming him *Olympius* (that is, the Heavenly or Godlike) to be without envy and truly becoming him ; I mean his kind and courteous carriage and a pure and untainted unblemish'd conversation in the height of power and place: According to those apprehensions and resentments we have of the Gods themselves in their kind ; whom, upon this account that they are naturally the Authors of all good things and are not the Authors of any evil, we do think worthy to rule and govern the World.

Not.

*An Ene-
mieu of
him.*

*His good
qualities
made him
deserve the
title of O-
lympius.*

*The Poets
mistake
who ascribe
passions to
the Gods.*

Not as the Poets rudely fancy, who confounding us with their foolish unmannerly conceits and opinions, are taken tardy in their own Poems and fictitious Stories, when they call the place indeed wherein they say the Gods make their abode, a secure and quiet seat, free from all hazards and commotions, not troubled with Winds, nor darkned with clouds ; but at all times alike shining round about with a soft serenity and a pure light, inasmuch as such a temper'd station is most agreeable and suitable for a blessed and immortal nature to live in : and yet in the mean while do affirm that the Gods themselves are full of trouble and enmity and anger and other passions, which no way become or belong to even Men that have any understanding. But this will perhaps seem a subject fitter for some other consideration, and that ought to be treated of in some other place.

*Pericles is
miss after
his death.*

Well ! the success of publick affairs after Pericles his death did beget a quick and speedy sense of his loss, and want and desire of such a conduct as his had been. For those who, while he lived, ill resented his great authority, as that which eclipsed them and darkned their lights, presently after his quitting the Stage making trial of other Oratours and Demagogues, did readily acknowledge that there never had been in

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nature such a disposition as his was, either more moderate and reasonable in the height of that state he took upon him, or more grave and solemn in the methods of that mildness which he used. And that invidious pretended-arbitrary power, about which they made such a splutter and formerly gave it the name of Monarchy and Tyranny, did then appear to have been the chief rampart and bulwark of safety, which the Government and Commonwealth had. So great a corruption and murrain, and such abundance of wicked ill humours had got into publick affairs, which he by keeping them weak and low did cover and disguise from being much taking notice of, and by snubbing of them did hinder them from growing incurable through a licentious impunity.

His seeming Arbitrariness excused and commended.

The End of Pericles's Life,

THE

The Translatour of Pericles's Life his Advertisement to the Reader.

Our great Author having a peculiar Idiom of his own and a propriety of style by himself, in the use of such Words and Phrases, as are hardly to be met with in any other Greek Writer ; it would require as much pains and take up as much paper to justifie the Translation, as it did to make it. I shall onely charge this vacant Page with two or three brief Notes of tha nature.

Cæsar seeing belike — took occasion to ask.) In the Greek it is, *ἰδὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἰούνει, γνηρώτων*. Where ὡς ἰούνει, standing in the middle as it doth, is referrible to both Verbs : that he saw them as it hapned, that is, belike ; and that, as it was meet or apt for one to do, he ask't them, that is, as I express it, he took occasion to ask.

Tolt-head.] Κεφαληγόρητος, Clot-head, in allusion to Νεφεληγόρητος, i. e. Cloud-gatherer, an Epithet given by Homer to Jupiter.

Bitch-fac'd.] So properly Κυνῆτος signifies. That which follows, and Born without a Maiden-head, alludes to a passage in Petronius Arbitr, where Quartilla, I take it, speaking of her self saith thus ; Juno nem iratam habeam, si me unquam memini fuisse virginem : meaning, that she had been a Whore time out of mind, and could not her self remember that ever she was a Maid.

THE



FABIUS MAXIMUS.



THE L I F E O F F A B I U S M.

Translated from the Greek,
By *John Caryl, Esq;*

HAVING related the memorable actions of *Pericles*, let us now proceed to the Life of *Fabius*. It is said, that the first of the name was a Son of *Her-cules*; and of a Nymph, or some Woman of that Country, who brought him forth on the banks of *Tyber*, and that he was a Person famous and powerful in *Rome*: Others will have it, that they were first called *Fodians*, because the Race of them delighted

delighted in digging pit-falls for wild Beasts, and that in process of time, and by corruption of language, they grew to be called *Fabians*. But these things be they true or false, certain it is, that this Family hath for a long time yielded great store of eminent Persons; Our *Fabius*, who was fourth in descent from that *Fabius Rutilianus*, who first brought the honourable surname of *Maximus* into his Family, was also by way of nick-name called *Verrucosus* from a Wart on his upper Lip, and in his Childhood they in like manner named him *Ovicula*, by reason of his extream mildness of Nature. His slowness in speaking, his long labour and pains in learning, his little concern in the sports and diversions of his equals, his easie submission to every body, as if he had no will of his own, made those who judged superficially of him (the number of which sort of Judges is always the greatest) esteem him insensible and stupid; And few were they, who could penetrate into the firmness of his Courage, and greatness of his Mind. But as soon as he came into Employments, his Vertues exerted and shewed themselves; his reputed Dulness did then appear to be the steddiness, and intrepid bravery of his Soul; his slowness in words, and actions, to be the effect of a consummated Prudence, which always laid them by, till

till they were thoroughly ripe; and his easie compliance to the bent of others, to be a noble pride of his heart, thinking it beneath him to contend about trifles.

Fabius, considering that the Grandeur of *Rome* proceeded from Military Vertue, and was by the same means to be preserved, did therefore inure his body to labour and exercises, wisely judging, that natural strength was the best Armour: He also train'd himself in the Art of speaking and perswading; for words and discourses are the Engines, by which Minds are moved; and he attained to such a kind of Eloquence, that his manner of speaking, and of acting was perfectly the same; for although it had not much of Ornament, nor Artifice, yet there was in it great weight of Sense; it was strong and sententious; much after the way of *Thucydides*. We have yet extant his Funeral Oration upon the Death of his Son, who died Consul, which he recited before the People.

He was five times Consul, and in his first Consulship he had the honour of a Triumph for the Victory he gained upon the *Ligurians*, whom he defeated in a set Battel; and drove them to take shelter in the *Alps*; from whence they never after made any inroad, nor depredations upon their Neighbours. After this *Hannibal* came into Italy,

Hannibal's
first pro-
digious
march in-
to Italy.

who at his first entrance having gained a great Battel near the River *Trebia*, travers'd all *Tuscany* with his Victorious Army, and desolating the Country round about, fill'd *Rome* it self with astonishment and terror. Besides unusual Thunder and Lightning then happening, the report of several ill-boding Portents did much increase this popular consternation. For it was said, that some Targets did sweat blood; that at *Antium*, when they reap'd their Corn, many of the Ears were fill'd with blood; that it had rained Fire; that the *Phalerians* had seen the Heavens open, and several Scrolls in form of Lots falling down, in one of which it was plainly writ, *Now Mars himself does brandish his Arms*. But these Prodigies had no effect upon the impetuous and fiery temper of the Consul *Flaminus*, whose natural promptness had been much heightened by his late Victory over the *Gauls*, though he fought them contrary to the order of the Senate and the advice of his Colleague: So that nothing would satisfie him but a battel with *Hannibal*. *Fabius* on the other side thought it not seasonable to engage with the Enemy; not that he much regarded those talk'd of Prodigies, which he took to be either fictitious or casual; but in regard the *Carthaginian* Army was in a wasting condition, without a possibility of recruits,

cruits, without Magazines, the Souldier unpaid; so that their only hope and safety was in a Battel: But if let alone, watch'd and observed, the neighbouring Garrisons in the mean time being well secur'd, and the Roman Allies defended, their vigour would soon expire, like a Flame for want of Alient. These weighty reasons prevail'd not with *Flaminius*, who protested, he would never suffer that the Enemy should advance one step farther, and that he would not be reduc'd, like *Camillus* in former time, to fight for *Rome* within the Walls of *Rome*. Accordingly he ordered the Tribunes to draw out the Army into the Field; and as he would not be dissuaded by the reasons of his Colleague from this precipitous resolution, so neither was he deterr'd by an ill presaging accident which befell him at his setting forth; for he no sooner got on Horseback, but the Beast fell into so violent a fit of trembling and bounding that he cast his Rider headlong on the ground. This notwithstanding, away he marcheth up to *Hannibal*, who was posted near the Lake *Trafimena* in Tuscany. And it is to be observ'd, that during the ingagement, there hapned so great an Earthquake, that it destroyed several Towns, altered the course of Rivers, tore off the tops of Mountains, yet such was the eagerness of the

Fabius's
deliberate
advice in-
effectual to
move Fla.
minius.

Combatants, that they were sensible of no other concussion or agitation, but what themselves made.

*He dies
Courageous-
ly.*

In this Battel *Flamininus* fell, having given many proofs of his strength and courage, and round about him lay all the bravest of the Army : In the whole, fifteen thousand were killed, and as many made Prisoners. *Hannibal*, desirous to bestow Funeral honours upon the Body of *Flamininus*, made diligent search after it, but could never find what became of it. Though the loss was so considerable, yet there was no art used to dissemble it at *Rome*; as there had been, upon the former Ingagement near *Trebia*; for then, neither the General who writ, nor the express who told the News, related it otherwise than as a drawn Battel, with equal loss on either side : But now; as soon as *Pomponius* the Pretor had the Intelligence, he caused the People to assemble, and without disguising the matter, told them plainly, *We are beaten (O Romans)* *our Army is defeated, the Consul Flamininus is killed; think therefore, what is to be done for your safety.* The same commotion, which a furious Wind doth cause in the Ocean, did these words of the Pretor raise in the minds of so vast a Multitude: But the rage of their grief being a little over, the danger at hand did at last awaken their judg-

judgments into a resolution to chuse a Dictatour, who by the Sovereign Authority of his Office, and by his Personal capacity of Wisdom and Courage, might be able to manage the Publick Affairs, become almost desperate, and to sit at the Helm in so great a Storm. Their choice unanimously fell up-
Fabius by
general
consent cho-
sen Dicta-
tour.
on *Fabius*, in whom was joyn'd a Venerable Gravity of manners, with a Spirit not to be daunted with any difficulty or danger; whose Age was so far advanced, as to give him experience, without taking from him the Vigour of Action; so that his Body could execute what his Soul design'd; and in him was the happy mixture of Caution and Boldness. *Fabius* being thus installed in the Office of Dictatour, in the first place he gave the Command of the Horse to *Lucius Minutius*; and next he asked leave of the Senate for himself, that in time of Battel he might serve on Horse-back, which by an Ancient Law amongst the *Romans* was forbid to their Generals; whether it were, that placing their greatest strength in their Foot, they would have their Commanders in Chief posted amongst them, or else let them know, that how great soever their Authority were, the People and Senate were still their Masters, of whom they must ask leave. But then again, to make the Authority of his Charge more awful, and to ren-

der the People more submiss and obedient to him, he caused himself to be accompanied with four and twenty Lictours ; and when the Consul came to visit him, he sent him word, that at his Audience he should dismiss his Lictours with their Fasces (the ensigns of Authority) and appear before him only as a private Person.

*His zeal
for the per-
formance of
religious
duties.*

The first solemn action of his Dictature was to order publick Prayers to be made to the Gods, and to admonish the People, that their late overthrow did not befall them through want of courage in their Souldiers, but through the neglect of Divine Ceremonies in the General. He therefore exhorted them not to fear the Enemy, but by extraordinary honour to appease the Gods. This he did, not to fill their minds with superstition, but only to raise their courage, and lessen in them the fear of the Enemy, by making them believe, that Heaven was on their side. In order hereunto the Sibylline Books were consulted, in which they conceived, the secrets of destiny and future events were to be learnt ; but whoever look'd into them, was under a tye of secrecy not to reveal what they found. After this he assembled the People, and made a Vow before them to offer in Sacrifice the whole product of the next Season all Italy over, of the Cows, Goats, Swine, Sheep, both

both in the Mountains and the Plains ; and the more to Solemnize this great Vow, he commanded the precise sum of 333 Sesterces, and 333 Pence, and one third of a Penny to be expended upon festival Games in honour of the Gods. What his mystery might be in that number is not easie to determine, unless it were in regard of the perfection of the number of three, as being the first of odd numbers, the first that contains in it self multiplication, with all the other properties belonging to any whatsoever Number besides.

In this manner *Fabius* having raised the hearts of the People, by making them believe, that the Gods took their part, and by the same means having made them supple and pliant to his will, he, for his own part, plac'd his whole confidence in himself, believing that the Gods bestowed victory and good fortune only upon the valiant and the prudent. Thus prepar'd, he set forth to oppose *Hannibal*, not with intention to fight him, but to wait upon him, to straiten his Quarters, to cut off his Provisions, and by so doing to make his victorious Army moulder away, and consume with penury and want. With this design he always incamp'd on the highest grounds, where their Horse could have no access to him. He still kept pace with

*He pru-
dently ma-
nag'd the
War with
Hannibal.*

them; when they marched he followed them; when they incamped he did the same, but at such a distance as not to be compell'd to an Ingagement, and always keeping upon the Hills, free from the insults of their Horse; by which means he gave them no rest, but kept them in a continual Alarm.

But this his dilatory fencing way gave occasion both at *Rome*, and even in his own Camp, to suspect his want of Courage; and this opinion prevail'd also in *Hannibal's Army*, who was himself the onely man who was not deceived, and who clearly saw his own Ruine in his Enemy's Conduct. Wherefore he resolved with all the arts and subtleties of War to break his Measures, and so bring *Fabius* to an Ingagement; like a cunning Wrestler, who watcheth every opportunity to get good hold and close with his Adversary. Sometimes he draws up his Men to the very intrenchments of the Enemy, reproaching the *Romans* with their Cowardise, so to exasperate and incense them against their General; then again he makes a retreat to a good distance, that so he might draw them out to fall upon his Rere. At other times in sight of the Roman Camp he wastes and burns the Countries round, to increase the clamour of the People against *Fabius*: All this

Hannibal
politickly
provokes
the Romans to
engage.

this artifice though it had no effect upon the firmness and Constancy of the Dictator, yet upon the common Souldier, and even upon the General of the Horse himself it had too great an operation: For this *Minutius*, began to have a contempt of the General, and his way of proceeding, which he misconstrued to be a timorous cunctation; so that in his Harangues he humoured the Souldiery in their mad fondness of coming to a battel, and in their scorn and reproaches which they cast upon *Fabius*; calling him the Pedagogue of *Hannibal*; since he did nothing else but follow him up and down, and look and wait upon him. At the same time they cried up *Minutius* for the only Captain worthy to command the *Romans*, whose Vanity and Presumption did thereupon swell to that degree, that he insolently rallied *Fabius's* Incampments upon the Monntains, saying, that he lodged them there, as on a Theatre, to behold the Flames and Desolation of their Country. And in his vain fit he would sometimes ask the very Friends and Dome-sticks of the General, Whether it were not his meaning by so leading them from Mountain to Mountain, to carry them at last (having no hopes on Earth) up into Heaven, and hide them in the Clouds from *Hannibal's* Army? When his Friends related these things

things to the Dictatour, perswading him that, to avoid the general obloquy, and the danger that might thereupon ensue, he would ingage the Enemy ; his answer was, *I should be more faint-hearted than they make me, if through fear of idle reproaches, I should abandon my own reason. It is no inglorious thing to have fear for the safety of our Country. That man is not fit to rule others, who shall be startled and give ground upon the noise of rumours and calumnies ; for in so doing he subjects himself and his government to the fancy of those whom he ought to command.*

*Through
unskillfulness in the
Language
be commits
a great
error.*

But an oversight of Hannibal, at this time committed, did happily allay these distempers in the Roman Camp : For he, desirous to refresh his Horse in some good Pasture-ground, drew off his Army, and ordered his Guides to conduct him to *Casinum*, they mistaking him, by reason of his ill-pronouncing the Latin Tongue, led him and his Army to the Town of *Casilinum*, near *Campagna*, which the River *Vulternus* divides in two : The Country about it is a Valley circled round with Mountains, which enlargeth it self towards the Sea, near which that River overflowing, causeth a great deal of Marish ground, and at last discharging it self into the Sea, makes a very unsafe Coast, without any Harbour. As soon

as

as *Hannibal* was entred into this Valley, *Fabius* dispatch'd four thousand choice men to seise the entrance into it, and stop him up; and lodged the rest of his Army upon the neighbouring Hills in the most advantageous places; but at the same time he detached a commanded Party of his lightest armed men to fall upon *Hannibal's* Rere; which they did with such success, that they cut off eight hundred of them, and put the whole Army in disorder. *Hannibal*, finding the error and the danger he was fallen into, immediately caused the poor Guides to be hang'd, which satisfy'd his revenge, but did not lessen his danger: For his Enemies were so advantageously posted, that there was no hopes of breaking thorough them, and his Souldiers began to despair of ever coming out of those Straits.

Thus reduc'd, *Hannibal* had recourse to *His Stratageme*; he caused two thousand head of Oxen, which he had in his Camp, to have Torches and dry Bavens well fastened to their Hornes, and lighting them in the beginning of the night, he ordered the Beasts to be fare and softly drove on towards the passages out of the Valley; when this was done, he made his Army with great silence march after them. The Oxen at first kept a slow, orderly pace, and with their lighted Heads resembled an Army mar-

marching by night, frightening only the Shepherds and Herdsman of the Hills about. But when the fire had burnt down the Horns of the Beasts to the quick, they no longer observed their sober pace, but unruly with their Pain, they ran dispers'd about, tossing their heads, and scattering the fire round about them. This became a surprising spectacle to the *Romans*, especially to those who guarded the Passages, who being at some distance from the main Body, and seeing the fire on the sudden dispersing it self on every side, as if the Enemy had design'd to surround them, in great fright and amazement, quitted their Post, and precipitously retired to their Camp on the Hills. They were no sooner gone, but a light Body of *Hannibal's* Men, according to his order, immediatly seiz'd the Passages, and soon after the whole Army, with all the Baggage, came up and safely marched through the Passes. *Fabius*, before the night was over, quickly found out the trick; for some of the Beasts with their Flaming heads fell into the hands of his Men; but for fear of an Ambush in the Dark, he kept his Men all night to their Arms in the Camp: And as soon as it was day, he charged the Enemy in the Rere, where many fell, and by reason of the Straits, and unevenness of the Passages, the disor-

disorder had like to have been general over the whole Punick Army, but that *Hannibal* speedily detached from his Van a Body of *Spaniards*, who of themselves active and nimble, were accustomed to the climbing of Mountains: These briskly attacked the Roman Troops, who were in heavy Armour, and routing the foremost, gave such a check to *Fabius*, that he was no longer in condition of following the Enemy. This action brought a strange obloquy and contempt upon the Dictatour; They said, it was now manifest, that he was not onely inferior to his Adversary (what they always thought) in Courage, but even in Conduct.

Fabius up
on divers
accounts
of.
evil spoken

And *Hannibal* (maliciously) to improve their hatred against him, marched with his Army close to the Lands and Possessions of *Fabius*, and then giving order to his Soldiers to burn and destroy all the Country about, he forbade them upon pain of death to do the least damage in the Territories of the Roman General, and placed Guards for their security. These matters reported at *Rome*, had that effect with the People, which *Hannibal* desired. Their Tribunes raised a thousand stories against him, chiefly at the instigation of *Metellus*, who not so much out of hatred to him, as out of friendship to *Minutius*, whose Kinsman he was,

was, thought by depressing *Fabius* to raise his Friend. The Senate on their part was also offended with him, for the bargain he had made with *Hannibal*, about the exchange of Prisoners, of which the conditions were, that after the exchange made of Man for Man, if any on either side remained, they should be redeemed at the price of two hundred and fifty Drachms a Head; and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty *Romans* unexchanged. They not onely refused to allow Money for the Ransomes, but also reproached *Fabius* for making a Contract so contrary to the honour and interest of the Commonwealth, in redeeming those men at so dear a rate, who had cowardly suffered themselves to be taken by the Enemy. *Fabius* heard and endur'd all this with invincible patience; but having no money by him, and on the other side being resolved to keep his word with *Hannibal*, he dispatch'd his Son to *Rome*, to sell Land, and to bring with him the price, sufficient to discharge the Ransomes; which was punctually perform'd by his Son, and accordingly the Prisoners were delivered to him; amongst whom many that were able, offered when they were released, to repay the money of their Ransome, but *Fabius* would not permit them to do it.

About

About this time *Fabius* was called to *Rome* by the Priests, to assist (according to the duty of his Office) at some of their solemn Sacrifices; whereby he was forced to leave the command of the Army with *Minutius*; but before he parted, he charged him, and intreated him, in his absence, not to come to a battel with *Hannibal*: His commands, his intreaties, and his advice were lost upon *Minutius*; for his back was no sooner turn'd, but the new General immediately sought all occasions to fight the Enemy. And notice being brought him, *Minutius* that *Hannibal* had sent out a great part of his Army to forage, he fell upon a considerable Party of them, doing great execution, and driving them to their very Camp, with no little terror to the rest, who apprehended their breaking in upon them: but in the mean time *Hannibal* had drawn his men up into a body, and *Minutius* without any losſ made his retreat. This success did much increase the boldness and presumption of *Minutius*, and fill'd the Soldiers minds with a contempt of the Enemy, and with a longing desire of a battel. The News was suddenly spread about *Rome*, and then was *Fabius* heard to say those memorable words, *That he dreaded nothing more, for the safety of Rome, than the success of Minutius.* But the People were mad with joy,

*in Fabius's
absence at-
tacks the
Carthagi-
nians.*

joy, and *Metellus*, who was then their Tribune, made an Oration to them, in which he infinitely extoll'd the Valour of *Minutius*, and fell bitterly upon *Fabius*, accusing him not only for want of Courage, but even of Loyalty; and not only him, but also many others of the most eminent and considerable Persons in *Rome*; that by their means the Carthaginians had brought the War into *Italy*, designing thereby to oppress and destroy the Liberty of the People; for which end they had put the supreme Authority into the hands of a single person, who by his slowness and delays might give leisure to *Hannibal* to establish himself in *Italy*, and those of *Carthage* time and opportunity to supply him with fresh succours in order to a total Conquest. At this, *Fabius* step'd forth, but disdain'd to make any reply to his accusations; he only said, *That they should expedite the Sacrifices, that so he might speedily return to the Army, to punish Minutius, who had presumed to fight contrary to his Orders.* He had no sooner pronounced these words, but the People were immediately possess'd with the belief, that *Minutius* stood in danger of his life: For it was in the power of the Dictator to imprison, and to put to death; and they feared that *Fabius*, though of a mild temper to outward appearance, would be

as

as hard to be appeased when irritated, as he was slow to be provoked. And yet no body dar'd to contradict the orders of the Dictatour, but *Metellus*, whose Office of Tribune gave him security and liberty to say what he pleased; for in the time of a Dictature that Magistrate onely conserves his Authority. He therefore boldly apply'd himself to the People, in the behalf of *Minutius*, that they should not suffer him to be made a sacrifice to the enmity of *Fabius*, nor permit him to be destroyed, like the Son of *Manlius Torquatus*, who was beheaded by his Father for a Battel fought and won against order: Then he exhorted them to take away from *Fabius* that absolute power of a Dictatour, and to put it into more worthy hands, which might better manage it for their safety and publick good. These impressions very much prevail'd upon the People, though not so far, as wholly to dispossess *Fabius* of the Dictature: But they decreed, that *Minutius* should have an equal authority with the Dictatour in the Army; which was a thing then without Precedent, though, not long after, it was also practised upon the overthrow at *Cannes*, when, the Dictatour *Marcus Junius* being with the Army, they chose at *Rome* *Fabius Buteo* Dictatour, that he might create new Senatours, to supply the places

of those who were kill'd, which could be performed by no other Magistrate. But as soon as, being entred into the Senate, he had fill'd those vacant places with a sufficient number, he immediately dismissed his *Lictors* with their *Fasces* and all his Attendance, and mingling himself like a common person with the rest of the People, he quietly went about his own affairs. The Enemies of *Fabius* thought they had sufficiently affronted and dejected him, by raising *Minutius* to be his equal in authority ; but they mistook the temper of the man, who look'd upon their madness as more injurious to the Commonwealth than to himself ; in imitation of *Diogenes*, who being told, that some persons derided him, made answer, *But I am not derided*, meaning in a Philosophical sense, that a good and a wise Man was not capable of being affronted, or disgraced, because such injuries made no impression upon him. Thus *Fabius*, with great lenity and unconcernedness, submitted to this mad Vote of the People ; but lest the rashness of *Minutius* should be thereby enabled to run headlong upon some dangerous enterprise, with all privacy and speed he return'd back to the Army ; where he found *Minutius* so big and elevated with his new dignity, that a joynt-authority not contenting him, he required by turns to have

have the Command of the Army, every other day. This *Fabius* rejected, as of too *dangerous consequence*, but was contented ^{the Army with Mi-} (to comply with his imperious humour) *nutius*. that the Army should be divided, and each General should command his part. The first and fourth Legion he took for his own division, the second and third he delivered to *Minutius*; so also of the Auxiliary Forces each had an equal share.

Minutius thus exalted, could not contain himself from boasting, even in the presence of *Fabius*, that now he had humbled the mighty man, who so lately trampled on their Lives and Fortunes. To whom the Dictatour mildly replyed, *Minutius*, you mistake your Enemy; 'tis *Hannibal* and not *Fabius* whom you are to combat; but if you must needs contend with your Colleague, let it be in diligence and care for the preservation of Rome; that it may not be said, a man so favour'd by the People, serv'd them worse than he who had been ill treated and disgrac'd by them.

Our young General despising these admonitions, as the dotage of supercilious Age, immediately remov'd with the body of his Army, and incamped by himself. *Hannibal*, who was not ignorant of all these passages, lay watching his advantage from them; it happen'd, that between his Army

and that of *Minutius*, there was a certain eminence which seem'd a very advantageous Post to incamp upon, it had the prospect of a large Plain about it, and the Fields appear'd to be all level and even; and yet there were a great many Ditches and hollowneses in them, not discernible to the eye at a distance. *Hannibal*, had he pleased, could easily have possess'd himself of this ground; but he reserved it for a bait or train, in a proper season, to draw the

The dangerous consequence of Minutius's rash separating from Fabius. Romans to an Ingagement. Now that *Minutius* and *Fabius* were divided, he thought the opportunity fair for his purpose; and therefore, having in the Night-time lodged a convenient number of his men in those Ditches and hollow places, early in the morning he sent forth a small detachment, who in the sight of *Minutius* possesst themselves of that rising ground.

According to his expectation, *Minutius* swallowed the bait, and first sends out a Party of Dragoons, and after them some Horse, to dislodge the Enemy. And at last, when he saw *Hannibal* in person advancing to the assistance of his men, he marched with his whole Army drawn up, resolving to make himself Master of that Post. The combat for some time was equal between the foremost Troops; but as soon as *Hannibal* perceived, that the whole Army of the Romans

was

was now sufficiently advanced within the toils he had set for them, so that their Backs and Flanks were open to his men, whom he had posted in those low places; he instantly gave the signal, whereupon they rushed forth, and furiously attacked *Minutius* in the Rere. The surprize and the slaughter was so great, that it struck an universal terrore through the whole Army. The bravest amongst them, and *Minutius* himself were in such astonishment, that they were as uncapable of giving orders, as the Souldiery of obeying them. Those who sought to save themselves by flight, were intercepted and cut in pieces by the Numidian Horse-men, who for that purpose had dispers'd themselves about the adjacent Plains.

Fabius was not ignorant of this danger of his Country-men; He well foresaw what would happen from the rashness of *Minutius*, and the cunning of *Hannibal*; for which reason he kept his Men to their Arms, in a readiness to wait the event; nor would he trust to the reports of others, but he himself upon an eminence in his Camp, viewed all that passed. When therefore he saw the Army of *Minutius* incompass'd by the Enemy, and that by their countenance and shifting their ground, they were more disposed to flight than to resist;

with a great sigh, striking his hand upon his Thigh, he said to those about him, O Hercules ! how much sooner than I expected, and yet how much later than he would have done, hath Minutius destroy'd himself ! He then commanded the Ensigns to march, and the Army to follow him, telling them, we must make haste to rescue Minutius, who is a valiant man, and a lover of his Country ; and if he hath been too forward to ingage the Enemy, at another time we will tell him of it.

Fabius
succours
Minutius.

Thus in the head of his men *Fabius* marched up to the Enemy ; and in the first place he cleared the Plains of those Numidians, and next he fell upon those who were charging the Romans in the Rere, running down all that made opposition, and obliging the rest to save themselves by a hasty retreat, lest themselves should be environed as the Romans had been. *Hannibal* seeing so sudden a change of affairs, and the great execution done by *Fabius* beyond the force of his age, opening his way through the Ranks that he might joyn *Minutius*, warily commanded a Retreat, and drew off his men into their Camp : The Romans on their part were no less contented to retire in safety. It is reported that upon this occasion *Hannibal* said to his friends ; Did not I tell you that this Cloud which alwaies hover'd upon the Mountains, would at some time

time or other come down with a Storm upon us? *Fabius*, after his men had pick'd up the Spoils of the Field, retir'd to his own Camp, without saying any harsh or reproachful thing to his Colleague; who also on his part gathering his army together, in this manner delivered himself to them. *Never to commit a fault is above the force of humane Nature; but to learn and improve by the faults we have committed, is that which becomes a good and a prudent man.* Some reasons I may have to accuse Fortune, but I have many more to thank her; for in a few hours she hath cured a long mistake, and taught me, that I am not the man who should command others, but have need of another to command me; and that we are not to contend for a victory over those to whom it is our advantage to yield. Therefore for the future the Dictatour must be your Commander; but in gratitude towards him I will still be your Leader, and always be the first to obey his orders. Having said this, he commanded the Roman Eagles to march forward, and all his men to follow him in their orders into the Camp of *Fabius*. The Fabians stood amazed at the novelty of the sight, and were anxious and doubtful what the meaning might be. When he came near the Dictatour's Tent, *Fabius* went forth to meet him, and he presently laid his Colours

Minutius
sensible of
his error
submits to
Fabius.

at his Feet, calling him with a loud voice his Father, and the Army commanded by him, the Patrons of his Liberty ; and after several civilities and congratulations, he thus addressed himself to the Dictatour ; *You have this day (Fabius) obtain'd a double Victory ; one by your Valour and Conduct upon your Enemies, and another by your Humanity and Compassion upon your Colleague : you have at once preserved us and instructed us ; and when we were shamefully beaten by Hannibal you restor'd us to our honour and our safety ; and instead of him, Fabius more honourably is now our Victor. Wherefore I can call you by no other name but that of a Father, since you have not only at this present given life to me, (as a common Parent) to all these who are under me.* After this, he threw himself with great tenderness and submission into the Arms of the Dictatour ; and in the same manner the Souldiers of each Army embraced one another with an excess of gladness and tears of joy.

Not long after, *Fabius* laid down the Dictature, and new Consuls were created. Those, who immediately succeeded, observ'd the same method in managing the War, and avoided all occasions of fighting *Hannibal* in a pitch'd Battel; they onely succour'd their Allies and preserv'd the Towns

Towns from falling off to the Enemy. But *The indis-
afterwards when Terentius Varro* (a man <sup>creet beha-
of obscure Birth, but very popular and bold)</sup> *Varro the* <sup>Varro the
had obtain'd the Consulship, he soon made
Consul.</sup> it appear, that by his rashness and ignorance, he would expose the Commonwealth to the last hazard : For it was his custom, to declaim in all Assemblies, that as long as the Counsels of *Fabius* prevail'd in *Rome*, there would never be an end of the War ; and he made his brags, that whenever he should get sight of the Enemy, he would free *Italy* from the Arms of Strangers. With these promises he so prevail'd with the credulous multitude, that he rais'd a greater Army than had ever yet been sent out of *Rome*. There were listed fourscore thousand fighting men ; but that which gave confidence to the Populace, did at the same time very much terrifie and deject the wise and experienced, and none more than *Fabius* ; For if so great a Body, and the flower of the Roman Youth should be cut off, they could not see any resource for the safety of *Rome*. Wherefore they address'd themselves to the other Consul, *Paulus Aemilius*, a man of great experience in War, but hated by the Common People ; who formerly upon some displeasure had set a Mulct upon him. This other Consul they encourage to withstand the temerity of his Colleague, telling

Fabius's
weighty in-
structions
to Paulus
Emilius.

telling him, if he will profitably serve his Country, he must no less oppose *Varro* than *Hannibal*, since both conspired to decide the fate of *Rome* by a Battel. It is more reasonable (said *Fabius* to him) that you should believe me than *Varro* in matters relating to *Hannibal*, when I tell you, that if for this year you abstain from fighting with him, either his Army will of it self moulder away and be destroyed, or else he will be glad to depart and free Italy from those troublesome Guests. This evidently appears, inasmuch, that notwithstanding his Victories, none of the Countries or Towns of Italy come in to him, and that now his Army is not the third part of what it was at first. To this *Paulus Emilius* is said to have reply'd, Did I onely consider my self, I should rather chuse to be exposed to the Weapons of *Hannibal*, than to the suffrages of my fellow Citizens, whose rancour I am sure to increase against me, if I avoid ingaging the Enemy; yet since the life of *Rome* is at stake, I will rather in my conduct please and obey *Fabius* than all the world besides. But these good measures were broken by the ambitious importunity of *Varro*; for when they were both come to the Army, nothing would content this Fovourite of the People, but a separate Command, that each Consul should have his day; and when his turn came, he posted his Army close

close to *Hannibal*, at a Village called *Cannas*, by the River *Ausfidius*. It was no sooner day, but he set up the red Flagg over his Tent, which was the signal of Battel. This boldness of the Consul, and the numerousness of his Army (double to theirs) startled the Carthaginians; but *Hannibal* commanded them to their Arms, and with a small train he went forth to take a full prospect of the Enemy, upon a rising ground not far distant. One of his followers, called *Gisco* (a Nobleman of *Carthage*) told him, that the number of the Enemy was very astonishing; to whom *Hannibal* reply'd, with a serious countenance; *There is something yet more astonishing, which you take no notice of; that in all that Army there is not one man whose name is Gisco.* This jest of their General made all the company laugh, and as they returned to the Camp, they told it to those whom they met, which caused a general laughter amongst them all. The Army seeing *Hannibal's* attendants come back from viewing the Enemy in such a laughing condition, did verily believe, that from the good posture of their affairs, and from the contempt of the Enemy this laughter had proceeded; which did not a little serve to raise the drooping spirits of the Souldiers. According to his usual manner, *Hannibal* fail'd not by his Strata-

Varro's
fatal en-
gagement
with the
Carthagi-
nians at
Cannas.

Stratagems to advantage himself. In the first place, he so drew up his Men, that the wind was on their backs, which was at that time very violent; and by reason of the great Plains of Sand, carried before it a great cloud of dust, which striking upon the faces of the Romans, did very much disable them in the Fight. In the next place, all his best men he put into his wings; and in the Body, which was somewhat more advanced than the Wings, he placed the worst and the weakest of his Army. Then he commanded those in the Wings, that when the Enemy had made a thorough charge upon that middle advanc'd Body, which he knew would recoil, as not being able to stand their shock; and that, when the Romans, in their pursuit, should be far enough ingaged within the two Wings, they should, both on the right and the left, charge them in the Flank, and endeavour to encompass them. This design had all the success imaginable; for the Romans pressing upon *Hannibal's* Front, which gave ground, reduced the form of his Army into a perfect Half Moon; and blinded with the dust, they followed on so far, that they gave room for the Enemies Wings to joyn behind them, and so to inclose and charge them both Flank and Rere; which they did with an incredible slaughter of the Romans: To whose

whose Calamity, it is also said, that a casual mistake did very much contribute; For the Horse of *Æmilius* receiving a hurt, and throwing his Master, those about him immediately alighted to aid the Consul; the Roman Troops seeing their Commanders thus quitting their Horses, took it for a sign that they should all dismount and charge the Enemy on foot. At the sight of this, *Hannibal* was heard to say, *This pleaseth me better than if they had been deliver'd to me bound band and foot.* For the particulars of this Ingagement, we refer our Reader to those Authors who have writ at large upon the Subject.

*Æmilius
the Consul
dismounted.*

The Consul *Varro* with a thin company fled to *Venutia*; and *Paulus Æmilius*, unable any longer to oppose the flight of his men, or the pursuit of the Enemy, his Body all covered with wounds, and his Soul no less wounded with grief, sat himself down upon a Stone, expecting the kindness of a dispatching blow. His Face was so disfigured, and all his Armour so stained with Blood, that his very Friends and Domesticks passing by knew him not. At last *Cornelius Lentulus*, of a Patrician Race, perceiving who he was, alighted from his Horse, and rendering it to him, desired him to get up, and save a life so necessary to the safety of the Commonwealth, which at this time would

would dearly want so great a Captain. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer; with tears in his eyes he obliged young *Lentulus* to remount his horse; then standing up, he gave him his hand, and commanded him to tell *Fabius Maximus*, that *Paulus Emilius* had followed his directions to his very last, and had not in the least deviated from those measures which were agreed between them; but that it was his hard fate, to be overpow'r'd by *Varro* in the first place, and secondly by *Hannibal*. Having dispatch'd *Lentulus* with this Commission, he mark'd where the slaughter was greatest, and there threw himself upon the Swords of the Enemy. In this Battel it is reported, that fifty thousand Romans were slain, four thousand Prisoners taken in the Field, and ten thousand in the Camp of both Consuls.

*He dies
valiantly.*
The Friends of *Hannibal* earnestly perswaded him to follow his Victory, and pursue the flying Romans into the very Gates of *Rome*; assuring him, that in five days march he might sup in the Capitol: Nor is it easie to imagine, what hindred him from it. I am apt to believe, that the excess of his good Fortune, or some Tutelary God of the Romans blinded his Reason, and made him loiter away his time; which made *Barcas*, a Carthaginian, tell him with indig-

indignation ; *You know, Hannibal, how to get a Victory, but not how to use it.* Yet, though he failed in making the best advantage of so mighty a Victory, however it produced a strange turn and improvement in his affairs ; For he, who hitherto had not one Town, nor a Sea port in his Possession, who had nothing for the subsistence of his men but what he pillaged from day to day ; who had no place of Retreat, nor any reasonable hopes to make the War continue, nor his Army to hold together, now became Master of the best Provinces and Towns of Italy, and of Capua it self (next to Rome the most flourishing and opulent City) all which came over to him, and submitted to his Authority.

Capua re-volts to Hannibal.

It is the saying of Euripides, that *a man is in no good condition when he is obliged to try a Friend, nor a State when it stands in need of an able General.* And so it was with the Romans ; who (before the Battel) branded the counsels and actions of Fabius with the infamous note of cowardise and fear, but now in the other extreme, they admire and adore his prudence, as something divine, that could see so far, and foretell what would happen so contrary to, and so much above the judgment of all others. In him therefore they place their only hope ; his wisdom is the sacred Anchor, which fix'd them

them in so great a fluctuation, and his Counsels alone preserve them from dispersing, and deserting their City ; as in the time when the Gauls took possession of *Fabius of Rome*. He, whom they esteemed fearful *an even temper in the greatest confternation* and pusillanimous, when they were (as they thought) in a prosperous condition, is now the only man in this general dejection, who shews no fear, but walking the Streets with an assured and serene countenance, comforts the afflicted, invigorates the weak, and encourageth all to a brave and resolute defence of their Country. He caused the Senate to meet, he heartned the Magistrates, and was as the Soul of their Body giving them life and motion ; He placed Guards at the Gates of the City, to stop the frightened Rabble from flying ; He regulated and confin'd their Mournings for their slain Friends, both as to time and place ; That each Family within its own Walls, and not in Publick, should perform such Obsequies ; and that the ceremony of them should continue only the space of one Month, and then the whole City should be lustrated and purified. The Feast of *Ceres* happening to fall within this time, it was decreed, that the Solemnity should be intermitte ; lest the fewness and the sorrowful countenance of those who should celebrate it, might too much expose to the People the greatness of their

their loss ; Besides, the worship most acceptable to the Gods, is that which comes from cheerful hearts ; But those Rites which were proper and peculiar for appeasing their anger, and procuring auspicious signs and presages, were by the direction of the Augurs carefully performed. Also *Fabius Pictor* (a near Kinsman to *Maximus*) was sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphos* ; and about the same time, two Vestals having been detected to have been violated, the one kill'd her self, and the other according to custom was buried alive.

But now let us admire the moderation and generosity of this Roman Commonwealth ; that when the Consul *Karro* came beaten and flying home, full of infamy and shame, after he had so foully and calamitously managed their affairs, yet the whole Senate and People went out to meet him at the Gates of the City, and received him with all the honour and respect due to their Consul : And silence being commanded, the Magistrates and chief of the Senate, and principally *Fabius*, commended him before the People, for that he did not despair of the safety of the Commonwealth after so great a loss, but was come to take the Government into his hands, to execute the Laws, and comfort his fellow Citizens, by this means not yet abandon'd and forlorn.

*An instance
of a gene-
rous disposi-
tion in the
Romans.*

A a a

When

When word was brought to *Rome* that *Hannibal*, after the Fight, had marched with his Army into the remoter parts of *Italy*, the hearts of the Romans began to recover again their ancient vigour and resolution; they sent forth an Army under the command of *Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*; both great Generals, equal in Fame, but very unlike and opposite in their ways. For *Marcellus* as we have formerly set forth in his Life, was a man of action, bold, vigorous and enterprising, and (as *Homer* describes his Warriours) fierce, and delighting in fights. So that having to do with *Hannibal*, a man of his own temper, they never failed upon all occasions to come to an Ingagement. But *Fabius* adher'd to his former principles, still perswaded, that by following close and not fighting him, *Hannibal* and his Army would at last be tired out and consumed; like an able Wrestler, who with too much exercise and toil grows languid and weak. Wherefore *Pofidonius* tells us, that the Romans called *Marcellus* their *Sword*, and *Fabius* their *Buckler*; and that the vigour of the one mixt with the steadiness of the other, made a happy Compound, very salutiferous to *Rome*. So that *Hannibal* found by experience that incoutring the one, he met with a rapid impetuous River, which drove him back

Marcellus
chosen joint
Commander with
Fabius.

back and still made some breach upon him ; and by the other, though silently and quietly passing by him, he was incensibly wash'd away and consumed : at last he was brought to this, that he dreaded *Marcellus* when he was in motion, and *Fabius* when he sat still. During the whole course of this War, he had still to do with one or both of these Generals ; for each of them had been five times Consul ; and either as Prætor, or Proconsul, or Consul, they had always a part in the government of the Army ; till at last *Marcellus* fell into the trap which *Hannibal* had laid for him, and was kill'd in his fifth Consulship. But his craft and subtilty was unsuccessful upon *Fabius* ; who only once was in some danger of being caught ; For he had sent counterfeit Letters to him from the principal inhabitants of *Metapont*, wherein they ingaged to deliver up their Town if he would come before it with his Army : This train had almost drawn him in, for he had resolved to march to them with part of his Army, but was diverted only by consulting the flight of the Birds, which he found to be inauspicious : And not long after he came to understand that those Letters had been forged by *Hannibal*, who for his reception had laid an Ambush to entertain him. This perhaps we must rather attribute to

*He is circumvented
and slain
by Hannibal.*

the favour of the Gods than to the prudence of *Fabius*.

The winning behaviour of Fabius towards his fickle Allies.

But in preserving the Towns and his Allies from revolting, with fair and gentle usage, and in not using rigour, or shewing a suspicion upon every light suggestion, his conduct was very singular. It is reported of him, that being informed of a certain Marsian (an eminent Man for his courage and quality) who had dealt underhand with some of the Souldiers to make them desert, *Fabius* was so far from using severity against him, that he called for him, and told him, he was sensible of the wrong which had been done him, and that his merit and good service had been neglected, which he said was a great fault in the Commanders, who reward more by favour than by desert; Therefore, when ever you are aggrieved (said *Fabius*) I shall take it ill at your hands, if you apply your self to any but to me; when he had so spoken, he bestowed an excellent Horse and other good gifts upon him; And from that time forwards, there was not a faithfuller and more trusty man in the whole Army than this Marsian. With good reason our General did judge, that if those who have the government of Horses and Beasts, endeavour by gentle usage to make them tractable and fit for service, rather than by cruelty and beating; much more

those who have the command of Men, should bring them to order and discipline by the mildest and fairest means; not treating them worse than Gardinersthoſe wild plants, which by careful looking to and good ſorage, lose the ſavagenefs of their nature, and bear excellent fruit.

At another time, some of his Officers *A pleasant fetch of his common Soldier.* inform'd him, that one of their Men did very often depart from his Colours, and lie out at nights; he ask'd them what kind of man he was; they all answer'd, that the whole Army had not a better man; that he was a native of Lucania, and so they tell relating ſeveral actions which they had ſeen him perform. Immediately *Fabius* made a ſtrict inquiry to find what it was that led him ſo often out of the Camp: and at laſt he discover'd, that his frequent excursions were to visit a young Woman, with whom he was in love. Hereupon he gave private order to ſome of his men, to find out the Woman and ſecrely to convey her into his own Tent; and then ſent for the Lucanian, and calling him aside told him, that he very well knew how often he had lain at nights out of the Camp, which was a Capital transgression againſt military Discipline and the Roman Laws; but he knew also how brave he was, and the good services he had done, and therefore in con-

sideration of them he was willing to forgive him his fault ; But to keep him in good order, he was resolved to place one over him, to be his keeper, who should be accountable for his good behaviour ; having said this, he produced the Woman, and told the Soldier, (terrified and amazed at the adventure) *This is the person who must answer for you* ; and by your future behaviour we shall see whether your night rambles were upon the account of Love, or upon any other worse design.

*His Policy
in regai-
ning Ta-
rentum.*

Another passage there was, something of this nature, which also fell under the management of *Fabius*, and proved highly advantageous to the Roman affairs, whereby he gain'd *Tarentum*. There was a young *Tarentine* in the Army, that had a Sister in *Tarentum* (then in possession of the Enemy) who entirely loved her Brother, and wholly depended of him ; He being inform'd, that a certain *Brutian*, whom *Han-nibal* had made Gouvernour of that Garrison, was deeply in love with his Sister, conceived hopes, that he might possibly turn it to account in behalf of the Romans. And having first communicated his design with *Fabi-us*, he left the Army as a Deserter (in shew) and went over to *Tarentum*. At his first coming, the *Brutian* abstain'd from visiting the Sister ; for neither of them knew that

the

the Brother had notice of the Amour between them: whereupon the young Tarentine took an occasion to tell his Sister, how he had heard, that a man of quality and great authority had made his addresses to her; Therefore he desired her to tell him who it was; for (said he) if he be a man that has bravery and reputation, it matters not what Country-man he is; since at this time the Sword mingles all Nations and makes them equal; and an alliance with such a person, in this Reign of Mars, is both honourable and profitable. Hereupon the Woman sends for her Gallant, and makes the Brother and him great Friends: and whereas she henceforth shew'd more countenance to her Lover than formerly, by the same degrees that her kindness increased did his friendship also with the Brother advance. So that at last our Tarentine thought this Brutian Officer well enough prepar'd to receive the offers he had to make him; and that it would be easie for a Mercenary Man, who was in love, to accept (upon the terms proposed) of great Sums promised by *Fabius*, and of a Mistress whom he passionately loved. In conclusion the bargain was struck, and the promise made of delivering the Town. This is the common tradition, though some relate this Story otherwise, and say, that this Woman, by whom the Bru-

tian was inveigled to betray the Town, was not a native of *Tarentum* but a Brutian born, and that she had been kept by *Fabius* as his Concubine; and being a Country-woman and an acquaintance of the Brutian Governor, he privately sent her to him to corrupt him.

Whilst these matters were thus brewing, to draw off *Hannibal* from scenting the design, *Fabius* sends orders to the Garrison in *Rhegium*, that they should waste and spoil the Brutian Country, and should also lay Siege to *Caulonia*, and storm the place with all possible vigour; These were a Body of eight thousand men, the worst of the Roman Army, who had most of them been runaways, and had been branded by *Marcellus* with the ignominious note of Cowardise; so that the loss of them would not be great,

Hannibal diverted by a subtlety of *Fabius*. nor much lamented by the Romans. *Fabius* therefore threw out these men as a bait for *Hannibal*, to divert him from *Tarentum*; who instantly bit at it, and led his forces to *Caulonia*; and in the mean time *Fabius* lay down before *Tarentum*. The sixth day of the Siege, his young Tarentine slips by night out of the Town, and having well observed the Place where the Brutian Commander, according to agreement was to let in the Romans, he gives an account of the whole matter, as they had laid it, to *Fabius*; who

who thought it not safe to rely wholly upon the information given him, and the bargain which was made, but went himself with great privacy to take a view of the Post and the avenue; and then gave order for a general assault to be made on the other side of the Town, both by Land and Sea. This being accordingly executed, when the Tarentines, and most of the Garrison ran to defend the Town on that side where the attack was made, *Fabius* with the men reserved for that purpose scales the Walls at the place design'd, and enters the Town without opposition.

Here we must confess, that the Ambition of *Fabius* was both cruel and unfaithful; For to make it appear to the world, that he had taken *Tarentum* by force and his own prowess, and not by treachery, he commanded his men to do execution upon all the Brutians, and not to spare a man of them; Many of the Tarentines were also kill'd, and thirty thousand of them were sold for Slaves. The Army had the plunder of the Town, and there was brought into the Treasury three thousand Talents: Whilst they were thus ordering and distributing the Spoils, the Officer who took the Inventory, ask'd what should be done with their Gods, meaning the Statues and Images in the Temples; to whom *Fabius* answer'd,

The inhumane cruelty of Fabius at the sacking of Tarentum.

fwer'd, Let us leave their angry Gods to the Tarentines. And yet one Statue of Hercules, which was of extraordinary bigness, he caused to be set up in the Capitol, next to his own in Bras, which stood there on Horse-back. The severe and sanguinary proceeding on this occasion, as it reflects on the memory of *Fabius*, so also it did very much set off in the eyes of the world the clemency and humanity of *Marcellus*, as in his Life we have already shewn.

Hannibal
in vein at-
tempts to
relieve it.

When *Hannibal* had the news brought him that *Tarentum* was besieged, he march'd with great diligence to relieve it; and being come within five miles, he was inform'd that the Town was taken; which made him say, that *Rome* had also got a *Hannibal*, and by the same Art *Tarentum* was lost, by which he formerly had gain'd it: And being in private with some of his Confidants, he plainly told them, that he always thought it difficult, but now he held it impossible with the Forces he then had to master *Italy*.

Upon this success, *Fabius* had a Triumph decreed him at *Rome*, much more splendid than the former; for they look'd upon him now as a Champion who had clearly worsted his Antagonist, and been too hard for him in his own way and at his own Weapon: And indeed the Army of *Hannibal* was

was at this time partly worn away with continual action, and partly become soft and dissolute with great opulence and luxury. When the Senate had before them the busines of this Triumph, *Marcus Livius* (who was Governor of *Tarentum* when it was betrayed to *Hannibal*, and then retired into the Castle, which he kept till the Town was re-taken) openly declared, that by his resistance more than by any action of *Fabius*, *Tarentum* had been recovered ; to whom *Fabius*, laughing at his envy and ambition, reply'd ; *You say very true, for if Marcus Livius had not lost Tarentum, Fabius Maximus had never recover'd it.* The people of Rome thought no honour too great for him; they gave his Son the Consulship of the next year; who when he was entred upon his Office, there being some business then on foot about provisions for the War, his Father, either by reason of Age and Infirmitiy, or perhaps out of design to try his Son, came up to him on Horseback. Whereupon the young Consul presently bid one of his Lictors command his Father to alight, and tell him that if he had any business with the Consul he should come on foot. This infinitely pleased the old man, and although the standers by seem'd offended at the imperiousness of the Son towards a Father, so venerable for his Age and his Authority,

Fabius's
jocular re-
ply to Mar-
cus Livius.

The trans-
scendent
dignity of
a Magi-
strate.

rity, yet he instantly lighted from his Horse, and with open arms and great speed, came up, and imbraced his Son, telling him, *Now thou art my Son indeed, since thou dost understand thy self in the Authority thou hast received, and knowest whom thou art to command.* This was the way by which we and our forefathers have advanced the dignity of the Commonwealth, in preferring that to our own Fathers and Children.

And indeed it is reported, that the great Grandfather of our *Fabius*, who was undoubtedly the greatest man of *Rome* in his time, both in Reputation and Authority, who had been five times Consul, and had been honour'd with several Triumphs for as many Victories obtained by him, took pleasure in serving (as Legate) under his own Son, when he went Consul into his Province. And when afterwards his Son had a Triumph bestow'd upon him for his good service, the old man followed on Horseback his triumphant Chariot, as one of his Attendants; and made it his glory to be the greatest man in *Rome*, and to have such a Son, and yet to be subject to the Law and the Magistrate. But the praises of our *Fabius* are not bounded here; his manly Courage in bearing his losses, more eminently shew'd the greatness of his Soul than his prosperous suc-

successes. For losing this Son of his in the flower of his age, and in the height of his promotion, with wonderful moderation, he did the part of a Pious Father and of a Heroe, whom nothing could daunt. For as it was the custom amongst the *Romans*, upon the death of any illustrious person, to have a Funeral Oration recited by some of the nearest Relations, he himself took upon him that office, and delivered himself upon the subject to the great satisfaction and applause both of Senate and People.

After *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who was sent Proconsul into *Spain*, had driven the *Carthaginians* (defeated by him in many Battels) out of that Province, and had reduced several Towns and Nations under the obedience of *Rome*, he was received at his coming home with a general joy and acclamation of the People; who to shew their gratitude and high esteem of him, design'd him Consul for the year ensuing. Knowing what high expectation they had of him, he thought the design of only driving *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, not great enough to answer the hopes and the happiness they promised themselves from his Consulship. He therefore propos'd no less a task to himself than to make *Carthage* the seat of the War; and so to oblige *Hannibal*, instead of invading the Countries of others,

Scipio
swartern
in his de-
signs by
Fabius.

others to draw back and defend his own. To this end he made use of all the credit and favour he had with the People; and assiduously courting them, left no popular art untry'd that he might gain them to second his design. *Fabius* on the other side oppos'd with all his might this undertaking of *Scipio*; telling the People, that nothing but the temerity of a hot young man could inspire them with such dangerous Counsels, which by drawing away their Forces to parts so remote, might expose *Rome* it self to be the Conquest of *Hannibal*. His authority and persuasions prevail'd with the Senate to espouse his sentiments, but the common people thought that he envied the Fame of *Scipio*, and that he was afraid lest this young Conquerour should have the glory to drive *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, and to end the War, which had for so many years continued and been protracted under his Government.

To say the truth, when *Fabius* first oppos'd this project of *Scipio*, I believe he did it in consideration only of the publick safety, and of the danger which the Commonwealth might incur by such a way of proceeding: but when he found *Scipio* every day increasing in the esteem of the People, envy then and ambition took hold of him, which made him so violent in his opposition.

For

For he apply'd himself to *Crassus*, the Colleague of *Scipio*, and perswaded him not to yield that Province to *Scipio*, but that (if his inclinations were for that War) he should himself in person lead the Army to *Carthage*. He also hindred the giving money to *Scipio* for the War, who was forc'd to raise it upon his own credit and interest, and was supply'd by the Cities of *Hetruria*, which were wholly devoted to him. On the other side, *Crassus* would not stir against him, nor remove out of *Italy*, as being in ^{Crassus no promoter of martial exploits.} his own nature an Enemy to strife and contention, and also as having the care of Religion, by his Office of high Priest. Wherefore *Fabius* try'd other ways to break the design; He declaimed both in the Senate and to the People that *Scipio* did not only himself fly from *Hannibal*, but did also endeavour to drain *Italy* of all their Forces, and to spirit away the youth of the Country to a Foreign War, leaving behind them their Parents, Wives and Children a defenceless Prey to the Enemy at their doors. With this he so terrified the People, that at last they would only allow to *Scipio* for the War, the Legions which were in *Sicily*, and three hundred of those men who had so bravely served him in *Spain*. In these transactions hitherto *Fabius* onely seem'd to follow the dictates of his own wary temper.

But

The deserved renown
of Scipio
in Africk

But, after that *Scipio* was gone over into *Africa*, when news was brought to *Rome* of his wonderful exploits and victories (of which the fame was confirm'd by the spoils he sent home) of a *Numidian* King taken Prisoner, of a vast slaughter of their men, of two Camps of the Enemy burnt and destroy'd, and in them a great quantity of Arms and Horses; when hereupon the *Carthaginians* had been compell'd to send their Envoys to *Hannibal* to call him home, and leave *Italy*, to defend *Carthage*; when for so eminent and transcending services, the whole People of *Rome*, with no less gratitude than acclamation, cry'd up and extoll'd the Actions of *Scipio*; even then did *Fabius* contend that a Successour should be sent in his place, alledging for it only the old thredbare and pitiful reason of the mutability of Fortune, as if she would be weary of long favouring the same person. But this too manifestly laid open his envious and morose humour, when nothing (not done by himself) could please him; Nay, when *Hannibal* had put his Army on Ship-board, and taken his leave of *Italy*, and when the People had therefore decreed a Thanksgiving-day, did *Fabius* still oppose and disturb the universal joy of *Rome*, by spreading about his fears and apprehensions, and by telling them, that the Commonwealth was never more in danger than now,

and

*Re is en-
vy'd by
Fabius.*

and that *Hannibal* was a more dreadful Enemy under the Walls of *Carthage* than ever he had been in *Italy*; that it would be fatal to *Rome* when ever *Scipio* should encounter his victorious Army, still warm with the blood of so many Roman Generals, Dictatours and Consuls slain. Some of the people were startled with these declamations, and were brought to believe, that the farther off *Hannibal* was, the nearer was their danger. But *Scipio* afterwards fought *Hannibal* and defeated him, and sufficiently humbled the pride of *Carthage*; whereby he rais'd again the drooping spirits of the Romans, no more to be dejected; and firmly establish'd their Empire, which the tempest of this Punick War had so long caused to fluctuate.

But *Fabius Maximus* lived not to see the prosperous end of this War, and the final overthrow of *Hannibal*, nor to rejoice in the well establish'd happiness and security of the Commonwealth; for about the time that *Hannibal* left *Italy*, he fell sick and died. We find in the History of *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* died so poor that he was buried upon the publick charge: *Fabius*, on the contrary, died very rich, yet such was the love of the People towards him, that every man of them, by a general Tax, did contribute to defray his Funeral; thereby owning him their common Father; which made his End no less honourable than his Life.

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THE

THE
COMPARISON
OF
FABIUS with *PERICLES*.

YOU have here had the Lives of two persons very illustrious for their Civil and Military Endowments; Let us first compare them in their warlike Capacity. *Pericles* presided in his Common-wealth, when it was in a most flourishing and opulent condition, great in power and happy in Success; so that he seem'd to stand rather supported by, than supporting the Fortune of his Country. But the business of *Fabius*, who undertook the Government in the worst and most difficult times, was not to conserve and maintain a well establish'd felicity of a prosperous State, but to raise and uphold a sinking and ruinous Common-wealth. Besides the Victories of *Cimon*, of *Myronides* and *Leocrates*, with those many famous exploits of *Tolmides*, were made use of by *Pericles* only to entertain the People at home, and to please their Fancy with Triumphs, Feasts and Games of the *Circus* and

and Theatre ; not to enlarge their Empire by prosecuting the War : Whereas *Fabius*, when he took upon him the Government, had the frightful object before his eyes of Roman Armies destroy'd, of their Generals and Consuls slain, of all the Countries round strewd with the dead Bodies, and the Rivers stain'd with the Blood of his fellow Citizens ; and yet with his mature and solid Counsels, with the firmness of his resolution, he, as it were, put his Shoulders to the falling Commonwealth, and kept it up from foundring, through the failings and weakness of others. Perhaps it may be more easie to govern a City broken and tamed with Calamities and adverstiy, and compell'd to obey by danger and necessity, than to rule a People pamper'd and resty with long Prosperity, as were the *Athenians* when *Pericles* held the reins of Government. But then again, not to be daunted nor discompos'd with the vast heap of Calamities under which the People of *Rome* did at that time groan and succumb, argues the temper of *Fabius* to be invincible, and his courage more than humane.

We may set *Tarentum* re-taken, against *Samos* won by *Pericles*, and the conquest of *Eubaea* we may put in ballance with the Towns of *Campania*; though *Capua* it self was afterwards subdued by the Consuls *Fabius*

Pericles's
numerous
Victories
eclipsed by
one of Fa-
bius's.

rius and *Appius*. I do not find that *Fabius* won any set Battel, but that against the Ligurians, for which he had his Triumph; whereas *Pericles* erected nine Trophies for as many Victories obtain'd by Land and by Sea. But no action of *Pericles* can be compar'd to that memorable rescue of *Minutius*, when *Fabius* redeem'd both him and his Army from utter destruction; an Action, which comprehends the height of Valour, of Conduct and Humanity. On the other side, it does not appear, that *Pericles* was ever so over-reach'd as *Fabius* was by *Hannibal* with his flaming Oxen; never was there so certain, and so great an advantage lost over an Enemy: For in the Valley of *Caslinum Hannibal* was shut up without any possibility of forcing his way out, and yet by Stratagem in the night he frees himself out of those Straits, and when day came, worsted the Enemy, who had him before at his mercy.

It is the part of a good General, not only to provide for, and judge well of the present, but also to have a clear foresight of things to come. In this *Pericles* excell'd, for he admonish'd the *Athenians* and told them before hand, what ruine their last War would bring upon them, by grasping more than they were able to manage. But *Fabius* was not so good a Prophet, when he denounced to the Romans, that the undertaking

taking of *Scipio* would be the destruction of the Commonwealth. So that *Pericles* was a good Prophet of bad success, and *Fabius* was a bad Prophet of success that was good, and indeed, to lose an advantage through diffidence, is no less blameable in a General, than to fall into danger for want of foresight; For both these faults, though of a contrary nature, spring from the same root, which is want of judgment and experience.

And for their Civil Policy; it is imputed to *Pericles* that he was a lover of War, and that no terms of peace, offer'd by the *Lacedæmonians*, would content him. It is true, that *Fabius* also was not for yielding any thing to the Carthaginians, but would rather hazard all than lessen the Empire of *Rome*; yet this difference there was between them, that *Fabius* made War only to preserve and recover his own, and *Pericles* to gain what belong'd to others. But then, the mildness of *Fabius* towards his Colleague *Minutius* does, by way of comparison, highly reproach and condemn the eager prosecution of *Pericles*, and his practices to banish *Cimon* and *Thucydides*, who held with the Nobility, and were true lovers of their Country. Indeed the authority of *Pericles* in *Athens* was much greater than that of *Fabius* in *Rome*; for which reason it was more easie for him to prevent miscarriages commonly

arising from weakness and insufficiency of Officers, since he had got the sole nomination and management of them; only *Tolmides* broke loose from him, and contrary to his orders, unadvisedly fought with the *Bœotians*, and was slain: whereas *Fabius*, for want of that general power and influence upon the Officers, had not the means to obviate their miscarriages; but it had been happy for the *Romans* if his authority had been greater; for so we may presume, their disasters had been fewer.

As to their liberality and publick spirit, *Pericles* was eminent in never taking any gifts, and *Fabius* for giving his own money to ransom his Souldiers; though the sum did not exceed six Talents. This right we must do *Pericles*, that no man had ever greater opportunities to enrich himself (as having had presents offer'd him from so many Kings and Princes, and States of his Alliance) yet no man was ever more free from corruption. And for the beauty and magnificence of Temples and publick Edifices, with which he adorn'd his Country, it must be confess, that all the Ornaments and Structures of *Rome*, to the time of the *Cæsars*, had nothing to compare, either in greatness of design or of expence, with the lustre of those which *Pericles* only erected at *Athens*.

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